













THE  
HISTORIC LITERATURE OF IRELAND,  
AN ESSAY

ON THE PUBLICATIONS OF  
THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

FOUNDED A.D. 1840.

FOR THE PRINTING OF THE GENEALOGICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, BARDIC  
TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL REMAINS OF IRELAND.

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DUBLIN:  
W. B. KELLY, 8, GRAFTON-STREET.  
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, AND CO., LONDON.  
OLIVER AND BOYD, EDINBURGH.  
1851.

"Diu nimis obscurata tenebris delituit Hibernia, nec sibi prorsus cognita, nec aliis: diu satis eclipsin passa est rudis admodum et indigesta; filiisque suis peregrina, se vel fuisse hucusque dubitavit."

"Iam tandem diu nimis infelix Hibernia, remotis fabulis, abactisque procul commentis, ad vivum, se peritiori manu *vestra* impressam agnoscit; dumque labores *vestros* in ernendis rerum suarum annalibus, gratè inceptos feliciterque peractos intueatur, se diu nimis obscuro sepultam tumulo, novosque e calamo *vestro* spiritus indies haurire novamque induisse lucem fatetur."—*Parrius ad Varæum.*

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE favorable manner in which this Essay was received on its appearance in No. III. of the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, has induced the proprietors to accede to the general desire expressed for its publication in a detached form.

It has long been a source of equal surprise and disappointment to the learned of other nations, that periodicals printed in Ireland should have hitherto conveyed no information on the literature of the country with which they are presumed to be identified. Thus, although the Irish Archæological Society is now in its eleventh year, and has expended many thousand pounds in the production of valuable works on the history, language, and antiquities of Ireland, the present is the first notice of its publications which has appeared in any Irish literary periodical.

The demand for a republication of this paper affords a pleasing evidence that literature in its best shape, or a desire of the "knowledge of ourselves," is progressing in Ireland, and would rapidly advance if proper efforts were made to exhibit, in a popular manner, the objects of our literary institutions.

It may be added, that this essay contains a considerable amount of interesting collateral information, derived from various manuscript and printed sources, not to be found in the publications of the Society.

ERRATA.

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THE

# HISTORIC LITERATURE OF IRELAND.

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A FEW Continental authors have, within the present century, effected a complete change in the style of writing history. Eschewing the dull volumes of tedious compilers, they have had recourse to the works of the old contemporary chroniclers, by a careful collation of which, with legal and official documents, they have succeeded in producing an animated and life-like picture of the manners and customs of former ages; "in a complete narrative, exhausting texts, assembling scattered details, collecting even to the slightest indications of facts and of characters, and from all these forming one body, into which science and art unite to breathe the breath of life."\*

The writers, to whom we are indebted for this new school of historic literature, are Augustin Thierry and his brother Amédée, Michaud, Sismondi, Guizot and Barante. Scarcely inferior to any of these great historians, in depth of research and powers of narration, Macaulay, much as he habitually allows his political prejudices to obscure his judgment, may be regarded as their English representative.

The way was prepared for these attractive writers by the historic antiquarians and the publishing associations which, on the Continent and in England and Scotland, have been and still continue labouring to rescue the works of the old chroniclers from the dust and neglect of centuries. But for the exertions of such literary pioneers† the

\* *Récits des temps Mérovingiens.*

† The following great national historical collections show how much Ireland is behind the rest of Europe in the cultivation of native history:—André Du Chesne, "*Historiæ Francorum Scriptores coætanei, ab gentis origine usque ad Phillipi IV. tempora,*" 5 volumes, folio, 1636-49. "*Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui, res ab illis gestas explicantes, ab ann 838 ad ann 1220,*" folio, 1619. Martin Bouquet, "*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, &c., accompagné de*

most diligent author would scarcely be able, in the period of a single life, to bring together the materials necessary for the proper illustration of even one important era. The history of Europe would consequently still remain arid and repulsive as the driest and most uninteresting annals.

In France, the efforts of the publishing associations are ably seconded by the government, while in England and Scotland, the general appreciation of national historic researches, among the educated classes, has ever afforded ample and substantial encouragement to the literary antiquarian.

Far different has, hitherto, been the case in Ireland. Subjected, almost ever since the invention of printing, to perpetual civil war and religious persecutions, little time was there to be found for the cultivation of letters. Another no less potent cause acted against the study of Irish literature. This was the miscalculating policy which formerly dictated the eradication of the old Celtic language of the country. A short-sighted attempt, condemned equally by the evangelical Bedell, and the philosophic Boyle, at a time when it was most warmly pursued by its fanatical advocates; and which only served to make the natives cling with a fiercer and more desperate

sommaires, de tables et de notes" (continué par Haudiquier, Precieux, Clement, Poirier, et Brial), 1738—1832, 19 volumes. "Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France depuis la fondation de la Monarchie Française jusqu'au xiiième siècle; avec une introduction, des suppléments, des notices et des notes, par M. Guizot," 1823—27, 29 volumes, 8vo. "Collection complète des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France, depuis le règne de Philippe Auguste jusqu'au commencement du xviième siècle avec des notices sur chaque auteur et des observations sur chaque ouvrage, par M. Petitot," 53 vols. 8vo. 1819—27. "Collection de Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France, depuis l'avènement de Henri IV. jusqu'à la paix de Paris, conclue en 1763, avec des notices sur chaque auteur et des observations par Petitot et Montmerqué," (second series,) 79 vols. 8vo. 1820—29. "Collection de Mémoires relatifs à la Révolution Française, avec des notices sur leurs auteurs et des éclaircissements historiques par Berville et Barrière," 56 vols. 8vo. 1820—1826. The above are noticed, as they seldom appear in our country, and show how much superior is the historical literature of France to that of Great Britain. Of the other national collections we shall only mention Lud. Ant. Muratori's "*Antiquitates Italicae mediæ ævi, post declinationem Romani imperii ad ann 1500*," 6 vols. folio, 1738—42; "*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores præcipui ab anno æræ Christianæ D. ad MD.*" 29 vols. folio, 1723—51; "*Annali d' Italia dell'era volgare, sino all 1750*," 17 vols. folio, 1753—6; and J. Langebek's "*Scriptores rerum Danicarum mediæ ævi*," 7 vols. folio, 1772—92.

tenacity\* to the old tongue of their fathers, in which their dearest and most ennobling recollections and traditions were enshrined.

There are, even in the present day, many estimable persons in Ireland of opinion that the publication of historic documents tends to revive old prejudices and to awake bad feelings. Had this idea prevailed among the more enlightened of other countries, literature would not now have to boast of the works of Scott, of Lamartine,

\* The attachment of the Irish to their native language is very remarkable; we learn from a manuscript cited by Dr. Leland, sometime Fellow of the University of Dublin, that when, in former times, any of the clans were unable to withstand the hostile powers of the invaders, they used to claim the assistance of their neighbouring tribes, "for the sake of the old tongue of the Gaels of Erin;" an argument which never failed to elicit the desired reinforcements. It is a curious historical fact, that the Irish troops, who principally contributed to save the town of Louvain, in 1635, from the tremendous assault of the great French army under Marshals Chatillon and De Brezé, were, in that bloody contest, marshalled and commanded in the military terms which the language of their country supplied. A Latin writer of the seventeenth century, who was conversant with most of the European tongues, tells us that the Irish language "surpasseth in gravity the Spanish, in elegance the Italian, in colloquial charms the French, it equals, if it does not surpass, the German itself in inspiring terror. From the lips of the Irish preacher it is a bolt to arrest the evil-doer in the career of guilt, and to allure by its soft and insinuating tones to the paths of virtue. The witticism, the jest, and the epigram it expresses briefly; and, in the hands of the poet, it is so pliant and flexible, that the '*Uraiceacht na n-eigeas*,' or '*Precepts of the Poets*,' lay down rules for more than a hundred different kinds of metre; so that in the opinion of men who are well acquainted with several languages, Irish poetry does not yield, either in variety, construction, or polish of its metres, to the poetry of any nation in Europe. Spenser himself corroborates this opinion, when he says: 'I have caused divers of Irish poems to be translated unto me, that I might understand them, and surely they savoured of sweet wit and good invention; they are sprinkled with some pretty flowers of natural device, which gave good grace and comeliness to them.'" To maintain the manners and traditions of their fathers, against the efforts of the invaders, the Irish," says Augustin Thierry, "made for themselves monuments which neither steel nor fire could destroy; they had recourse to the art of singing, in which they gloried in excelling, and which in the times of independence had been their pride and pleasure. The bards and minstrels became the keepers of the records of the nation. Wandering from village to village, they carried to every hearth memoirs of ancient Erin; they studied to render them agreeable to all tastes and all ages; they had war songs for the men, love ditties for the women, and marvellous tales for the children of the house. Every mansion preserved two harps ever ready for travellers, and he who could best celebrate the liberty of former times, the glory of patriots, and the grandeur of their cause, was rewarded by a more lavish hospitality. The kings of England endeavoured more than once to strike a blow at Ireland in this last refuge of its regrets and hopes; the wandering poets were persecuted, banished, delivered up to tortures and death; but violence only served to irritate indomitable wills; the art of

and of Manzoni. Such an argument, moreover, strikes at the dissemination of TRUTH, and has, we know by sad examples, led in Continental countries, to results most disastrous to the liberties of mankind. It is an incontrovertible fact, that political animosities have, in all nations, been designedly engendered and fostered by the propagation of historic falsehoods, which are ever ready to usurp the place unoccupied by truth. The contemplation of the

singing and of poetry had its martyrs like religion; and the remembrances, the destruction of which was desired, were increased by the feeling of how much they cost them to preserve."

In allusion to those penal times, we find the following lines in a late anonymous writer:—

"Ah, God is good and nature strong—they let not thus decay  
The seeds that deep in Irish breasts of Irish feeling lay;  
Still sun and rain made emerald green the loveliest fields on earth,  
And gave the type of deathless hope, the little shamrock, birth;  
Still crouching 'neath the sheltering hedge, or stretched on mountain fern,  
The teacher and his pupils met, *feloniously*—to learn:  
Still round the peasant's heart of hearts his darling music twined,  
A fount of Irish sobs or smiles in every note enshrined;  
And still beside the smouldering turf were fond traditions told  
Of heavenly saints and princely chiefs—the power and faith of old."

The native poets delighted to revile

———"the stranger's tongue upborne by law,  
Whose phrase uncouth distorts the Gaelic jaw,"

and found endless pleasure in eulogizing their own language. As an illustration of this we may quote a stanza from one of the poems of Donogh O'Mahony "the blind," a Munster bard of the last century:—

"*As iseadh ba bhlasda, ba cneasda, ba fhior-liomhtha,  
Ba oilte, ba aite, ba thapaith a m-brígh tinn gluib;  
Ba shnaighte, ba shnasghlaine racaireachd gaois-taoithe,  
Ní h-ionan 's glafairneach mhallaighthe ar bh-fíor-naimhde.*"

"Unlike the jargon of our foreign foe,  
On raptur'd ear it pours its copious flow;  
Most feeling, mild, polite, and polish'd tongue,  
That learned sage e'er spoke or poet sung."

Mr. Christopher Anderson, a learned Scotch author, in his recently published work on the "Native Irish," labours to prove that the neglect of the Irish language has been alike injurious to the progress of English and that of general knowledge. Speaking of the natives, he says, "the Irish is still the language of their hearts, and even of the best part of their understanding. In it they still continue to express their joy or sorrow; for this is the language which is associated with their earliest recollections. In it their mothers hushed them to rest in the days of their infancy; and in youth, if they loved music, they were charmed with the numbers of the 'Culan,' or of 'Erin go Bragh.'" Bopp, Grimm, Diefenbach, and other profound German philologists, have borne testimony to the special importance of the Irish language, as being the richest in its vocabulary and grammatical forms, at the same time that it possesses the most ancient and numerous records, of the nature of histories, laws, and poems; and we may add, that the number of vocables in the Irish language exceeds 50,000.

history of our ancestors, their misfortunes, their virtues, their errors and their crimes, cannot fail to exercise a beneficial influence on us, their descendants, inasmuch as one of the great masters of the human mind has told us that "history is philosophy, teaching by example." Despite all obstacles, it is, however, pleasing to recollect, that even in the worst times, a few men were to be found who, under most discouraging circumstances, at considerable personal sacrifices, and actuated solely by a love of their country's literature, essayed and achieved much for the preservation of our historic documents. The names of Ussher, Ware, Colgan, Fleming, and Ward must ever be remembered with gratitude as the first who, by their elegant Latin treatises, rendered the ancient history of Ireland familiar to the learned of Europe. Since the seventeenth century, the study of Irish literature has never been entirely neglected, but notwithstanding all the efforts of individuals, the greatest and most important monuments of the early history of the country are still unpublished and inaccessible. A short view of these documents will give an idea of the obstacles which still continue to oppose the production of a *true* "History of Ireland."

From the earliest period of which we have any account, to the commencement of the seventeenth century, the native Irish, or Gaels, were governed by a peculiar written code, known as the *Brehon* laws. These laws are referred to by Venerable Bede, by the ante-Danish poets, by Cenfaelad in the seventh century, by Probus in the tenth, by Tighernach in the eleventh, and by the Magnates Hiberniæ in the fourteenth century. Placed in the extremity of Europe, secluded from the rest of the world, unconquered, unmixed, and never affected by the concussions of the fall of the Roman Empire, the Irish must have possessed primeval institutions, which these documents are best calculated to unfold.\* Many copies of these laws are still preserved in our public libraries, and are in general accompanied by elaborate glosses and commentaries, written for the most part by the Irish jurists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The contents of the *Brehon* laws still remaining to us† "are very

\* Bibliotheca Manuscripta Stouensis.

† Suggestions with a view to the Transcription and Publication of the MSS. of the *Brehon* Laws, now in the Libraries of the British Museum,

various, and may be found to have important bearings upon the existing condition of society in Ireland. Some relate to offences against person and property; and regulate in the most minute manner, the fines to be paid by the offenders, as well as the compensations to be received by the injured parties, or their representatives. Others prescribe the prices to be paid for work done, or articles purchased. A very interesting class of laws lays down the privileges attaching to persons in the different ranks of society. Others have reference to the distribution and transfer of land. It must be apparent that documents of such a nature are of great importance; not only as illustrating the customs and character of the ancient Irish, but even as throwing light upon the earliest and most obscure part of European history. As the Celtic nations retired westward before the pressure of new colonizing swarms, they carried with them into the British islands much of their primitive language and usages. The former remains to this day. It is therefore unreasonable to deny the probability of their having also preserved such remnants of the latter, as might serve to supply the philosophic historian with valuable materials. It ought to be added, that the study of comparative philology would be promoted in no ordinary way by the publication of the ancient Irish laws. They are written in a dialect almost as different from the vernacular Irish of the present day, as Anglo-Saxon is from English.\* They

the University of Oxford, the Royal Irish Academy, and Trinity College, Dublin. 12mo. London: 1851.

\* The name of *Brehon* is cognate with the Celtic noun *Breath* or *Breah*, which signifies a judicial decision. The language of those laws is so peculiar and so long obsolete, that there are but two scholars to be found capable of deciphering and translating them, with accuracy and precision; it is scarcely necessary to say, that we refer to Dr. John O'Donovan and Mr. Eugene Curry. The latter gentleman, whose examination before the Parliamentary Committee of Public Libraries, in 1849, excited so much interest in England relative to the ancient literature of Ireland, has amassed an immense amount of collateral illustrative matter, for the elucidation of the laws of the *Brehons*, and has also compiled extensive and invaluable glossaries of the most unusual and obscure terms with which they abound. Although Mr. Curry has not hitherto taken a prominent public part in the Irish literary world, those who are competent to form a judgment, coincide in pronouncing him the most erudite Celtic palæographer ever produced by Ireland; not even excepting Mac Firbis, the O'Clerighs, or the O'Maoil-chonaires. His critical knowledge of the older and more obscure dialects of the country, is perfectly unequalled and unprecedented. There is scarcely an important Irish manuscript in Great Britain or Ireland, or in the rich



abound, too, in technical terms and titles of persons, which are obviously among the most unvarying parts of a language. From no source could the scholar engaged in analyzing the Celtic languages, and determining their relation to the other branches of

Library of the Dukes of Burgundy, which he has not examined, collated, or transcribed, and in every Irish historical work of consequence, produced within the last quarter of a century, we find the authors expressing their numerous obligations to him for invaluable Celtic information, of which he is the sole depository. The critical and analytical Catalogues which he has compiled of the Gaelic manuscripts of the Royal Irish Academy, and of those in the British Museum, would alone entitle him to a high literary position. He has lately completed his examination and collation of the Betham manuscripts, added to our National Collection through the exertions of the Rev. Charles Graves; to the public subscription for which we are proud to state, that the Right Hon. B. L. Guinness, Lord Mayor of Dublin, was one of the most munificent contributors; thus opening a new era in our civic annals, and giving an example, which will, we trust, not be lost on his successors in office. Mr. Curry is now engaged in collating the fragments of the ancient *Brehon* laws, preserved in the English manuscript collections; and we trust that he will soon proceed to press with his treatises on the "History of the Boromean Tribute," and the "Account of the Fir-Bolgic, or Belgic Colony in Ireland"—two documents of the greatest importance in illustrating the earlier portions of our annals. When we recollect the uncertainty of human life, and how much the records of Ireland have suffered at various periods by accidents, and consider that, as in the case of the Escorial, a fire of a few minutes' duration in one of our manuscript collections, might effectually destroy the entire historical monuments of an important era, we cannot avoid expressing our deep anxiety, that public steps should be taken for the prompt publication of our ancient annals and literary remains, while they are yet in a state of safety, and while the scholars are amongst us, whose departure from the stage of life would leave the older Celtic records of Ireland a blank for ever. "The losses of history, indeed," says Gibbon, "are irretrievable; when the productions of fancy or science have been swept away, new poets may invent, and new philosophers may reason; but, if the inscription of a single fact be once obliterated, it cannot be restored by the united efforts of genius and industry. The consideration of our past losses should invite the present age to cherish and perpetuate the valuable relics which have escaped." This is truly a national question, and demands the attention of our educated classes. The literary men of Europe look to Ireland for the ancient monuments of her Celtic language; and we shall stand eternally disgraced in the republic of letters, if we make not a strenuous effort to supply them with what they have so long and so earnestly demanded. "Il est temps," says Adolphe Pictet, one of the latest and most distinguished French philologers, "de trancher enfin cette question: l'ancienneté de ces idiomes, le nombre et l'importance historique de leurs monuments écrits, presque inconnus encore, le fait qu'ils renferment une partie des origines de la langue Française; tout se réunit pour réveiller l'intérêt sur ces curieux débris de la primitive Europe. En attendant des travaux plus complets sur leur histoire, travaux qui ne peuvent être entrepris avec succès que par les savants nationaux, on peut, au moyen des matériaux existants les rattacher à leur véritable souche, qui est, sans contredit, Indo-Européenne."

the Indo-European family, derive more abundant or precious materials."

The manifest injustice with which Ireland was treated by the late "Record Commission," which effected the publication of the Anglo-Saxon and Welsh laws, leaving the Irish legal records almost untouched, is to be attributed to our own apathy, as we believe that no proper public remonstrance was ever made against this neglect of the Commissioners. We are, however, glad to find, that at length the publication of these ancient Irish laws is about to be made a literary question, of not only National but European importance, and feel confident that the Imperial Government,\* however parsimonious in its allowances to the literary institutions of Ireland, will not hesitate to undertake the preservation of the laws of the *Brehons*; when their publication is recommended by such scholars as Guizot, Pictet, Bunsen, and Hallam. The Anglo-Norman legal records of Ireland have hitherto fared scarcely better than the *Brehon* laws. There are upwards of twelve hundred legislative enactments, which have never yet been published,† and consequently do not appear in the defective and inaccurate printed editions of the Irish Statutes. The great body of the rolls, inquisitions, and other official documents, most important as illustrations of history, are still reposing in their dusty and almost inaccessible repositories; whence they are scarcely ever drawn, save when it is found necessary to consult them, for the purpose of deciding questions relative to property, or disputed titles.

Such is the condition of our legal antiquities, which Gibbon calls

\* The national resources of France and Germany have long since effected the publication of the Salic law and of the Codes of the Riparian Franks, the Burgundians, and the Visigoths; more recently, the Danish government furnished the means of publishing the Icelandic laws, documents remarkably similar in their nature to the ancient laws of Ireland. The government of Great Britain is at present contributing to the excavations at Nineveh, to the neglect of their own national monuments. This fact forcibly recalls what Pliny says in his epistle to Gallus: "Ad quæ noscenda iter ingredi, transmittere mare solemus, ea sub oculis posita negligimus; seu quia ita natura comparatum, ut proximorum incuriosi, longinqua sectemur. Quacunque de causa, permulta in urbe nostra, juxtaque urbem, non oculis modo, sed ne auribus quidem novimus. Quæ si tulisset Achaia, Ægyptus, Asia, aliave quælibet miraculorum ferax commendatrixque terra, audita, perlecta, lustratataque haberemus."—C. Plinii Cæcilii Secundi Epist. lib. viii.

† Lynch's "Prescriptive Baronies of Ireland;" London: 1835.

“the most instructive portion of a country’s history;” and in this inaccessible and disgraceful state will they continue, until proper representations shame our Government into their publication. With the exception of official records, brief Latin annals, chartularies of religious houses, and that strange collection of romantic historic-fiction called the “*Book of Howth*,”\* the Anglo-Norman settlers in the Pale and the large towns of Ireland, left but few literary remains. Many state papers, original letters, diaries, and accounts of important transactions, written in English and Latin, in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, relating to the history of Ireland, are still preserved in the manuscript collections of Great Britain. The large numbers of ancient manuscripts in the Irish language which have come down to us, cannot fail to excite surprize, when we reflect on the quantities of such works which must have been destroyed by the revolutions of centuries, and the innumerable accidents to which literary monuments are exposed. Their preservation is, however, satisfactorily accounted for, by the jealous and sedulous care with which the old Irish guarded their written documents.

An antiquarian† of the seventeenth century, whose knowledge of Celtic literature has never been surpassed, tells us that in ancient times, “every district in Ireland had its Bard, and its *Brehon* or Judge; and the genealogies were so accurately entered in their books, that he who refuses credit to them, may equally deny faith in his father or grandfather, since our fathers and grandfathers were our witnesses, each generation committing them to the care of their successors.” “Neither was there any order,” continues the same writer, “lay or ecclesiastic in Ireland, which was not bound by penalties, as stated in our *Law Books*, and on pain likewise of honor and reputation, to preserve their genealogies and histories,

\* “*The Book of Howth*” is a miscellaneous compilation of the sixteenth century, supposed to have been made for Christopher, the blind Baron of Howth, who died A. D. 1589; for more than a century past, this book was supposed to have been lost, but it has been discovered by Dr. O’Donovan, among the Carew manuscripts, preserved in the Lambeth Library. By those best acquainted with our records and history, it has never been considered of authority, nor held in any other light than as a compilation of Anglo-Irish fables, invented to flatter and amuse the inhabitants of the Pale; on whose manners, customs, and language, we may add, its publication would throw much light.

† Duaid Mac Firbis, ob. 1670.

so that on comparison with those of other districts and churches, they should be found to correspond; and it was ordained by law that there should be always seven ranks or orders of the learned to inspect those books.

Many of those parchment volumes, still preserved, are exquisite specimens of caligraphy and artistical ornamentation; they are in general named after the clan to which they belonged, or the place where they were compiled; thus we have the "*Book of the O'Kellys*," the "*Book of the Mac Egans*," the "*Book of Leacan*," and the "*Book of Ballymote*." Their contents are various, comprising genealogies, annals, accounts of battles and important events, topographical tracts, lives of Irish saints, historical poems, romantic tales, treatises on law, medicine and scientific subjects, together with translations from the classics and the contemporary authors of foreign countries. In addition to the "great books," we possess an infinite number of short detached historical and scientific documents of considerable antiquity, and most important in illustrating the earlier portions of our annals. The old chieftains and heads of clans set a high value on these works, which they often purchased at enormous prices; not unfrequently was the desire to possess them the cause of sanguinary contests, and even in some cases, a manuscript volume was taken as ransom for a prisoner of distinction, after gold and other valuable articles had been rejected. The contemplation of the historic importance of those documents, their precarious state, and the probability of their never being properly deciphered or translated, if neglected in the present generation, forcibly demonstrated to the more enlightened in Ireland and abroad, the necessity of taking immediate steps for their preservation. Hence, after much anxious thought and deliberation, several Irish Peers, a large number of Prelates and Clergymen of the Established Church, the Provost, some of the Fellows of the University of Dublin, and many of the members of the Royal Irish Academy,\* united in

\* See the list of original members prefixed to the first volume of the Society's publications. The present Earl of Dunraven, Lord Talbot de Malahide, and the Marquis of Kildare, have taken a lively interest in, and contributed much to, the promotion of the study of their country's historic literature. The Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, has done more than is generally known to advance our national learning. He contributed liberally to the fund for the purchase of the Betham MSS., and lately presented to the Academy's Museum a number of valuable

forming a publishing association, which they decided on calling "THE IRISH ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY." This body held its first meeting on St. Patrick's Day, in the year 1840. Since that day, the Committee of the Society has continued to labour earnestly and nobly to rescue from oblivion and decay the scattered and obscure monuments of Irish history. For this purpose they have achieved much; and the Institution, since its foundation, has formed a centre of literary attraction, around which the lovers of historic investigation have collected and remained steadfast, even amid the fearful times of famine and sedition. It has, however, been justly remarked, that the efforts of this Society have not been properly seconded by those to whom it should most naturally look for support and encouragement. Its proceedings and publications have been almost unnoticed by those periodicals which have been hitherto regarded as the literary organs of the country, and which, instead of fostering native learning, from which the true glory of a nation is to be derived, have, in almost

antique Irish circlets of solid gold. His Excellency is, we may add, a member of the Archæological and Celtic Societies. Lord Kildare, Vice-President of the same Societies, has, at considerable expense, had elegant transcripts made of all the historical poems and unpublished documents relative to the history of the Geraldines; and he has also contributed a munificent sum, to enable our Archæological Society to expedite their publication of that extraordinary and unique philological work, commonly known as "Cormac's Glossary," written in the ninth century.

Several dignitaries of the Established Church have also, of late years, cultivated the study of Irish history and antiquities with eminent success. Of the many so distinguished, we may mention the Rev. James H. Todd, D.D., Senior Fellow of the University of Dublin, Secretary to the Royal Irish Academy and to our Archæological Society, a most accomplished Celtic scholar and ecclesiologist. The value of his untiring labors can only be adequately appreciated by those who are acquainted with the obstacles and difficulties with which he has had to contend, in his disinterested pursuit of the advancement of the literary reputation of his country. The Rev. Charles Graves, Fellow of, and Professor of Mathematics in, the University of Dublin, a profound Celtic philologist. His treatise on the *Ogham* or occult forms of writing, in use among the ancient Irish, about to be published by our Archæological Society, will finally set at rest that hitherto "*vexata quæstio*." But for the influence and exertions of this reverend gentleman, the invaluable collection of Irish manuscripts made by Sir W. Betham, and lately added to the noble Library of the Royal Irish Academy, would have passed into the hands of foreign collectors. The Rev. Richard Butler, Dean of Clonmacnois, one of our ablest Anglo-Irish antiquaries, and who has spared no trouble or expense to preserve the historic remains and monuments in his own locality, as every visitor to the romantic ruins along the banks of the Boyne can testify. The Venerable Henry Cotton, D.C.L., Archdeacon of Cashel, author of the elaborate "*Fasti Ecclesiæ Hiberniæ*." His efforts to repair the injuries which the ancient monuments of "Cashel of the Kings" suffered from

every instance, directed their attention to the productions of foreign authors and of foreign presses; and, attracted by the history and antiquities of the most remote countries, they have totally overlooked what was passing in the literary world of Ireland.

It must be obvious, that the present paper can supply but a meagre outline of the contents of the important and invaluable works issued under the superintendence of the "Irish Archæological Society." Even such a sketch, compendious and brief as it must necessarily be, will at least redeem us from the charge of ingratitude, and be some tribute to the merit of those high-minded and accomplished scholars, who have devoted so much of their time and talents to the elucidation of the history of their native land, for which they will be remembered with gratitude by their descendants; while the memory of those who have done nothing to advance the literary

the iconoclastic Archbishop Price, deserve the highest commendation. The Rev. William Reeves, of Ballymena, the most erudite hagiographical scholar and ecclesiastical historian yet produced by this country, who, in the year 1850, presented the Members of our Archæological Society with the valuable and important volume noticed in the present paper. The Rev. James Graves, of Kilkenny, has lately succeeded in forming an association for preserving the monumental and literary antiquities of that ancient city and its vicinity. He has in the press an elaborate work on the history of the Cathedral of St. Canice, which, when published, will form the most important and elegantly illustrated volume yet produced on our provincial ecclesiastical and civil history.

To the exertions and influence of the above mentioned individuals, and of other members of the University of Dublin, we owe the formation of the great National Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, which, with only a stipend of £300 per annum from a Government with a revenue of a million per week, has, by private liberality, succeeded in forming the largest and most complete collection of Celtic manuscripts and remains in existence.

It would be unjust to the "memory of the dead" not to state, that the late Professor James Mac Cullagh, LL.D., of Trinity College, Dublin, and a mathematician of European celebrity, contributed largely to the formation of the Academy's Museum. Among the principal articles he presented was the magnificent "Cross of Cong," executed in the County of Mayo, in the twelfth century, and purchased by him for one hundred guineas. He also gave a large sum for an original manuscript of Colonel O'Kelly's *Macariæ Excidium*, which he deposited in the Academy's library. The latter acquisition was, as we shall see, of the greatest importance, as it elicited Mr. O'Callaghan's valuable annotations, which have set the history of the Irish affairs of 1689 in a completely new light, and redeemed the country from a disgraceful historical imputation. The untimely death of Dr. Mac Cullagh prevented the completion of his design of printing a series of the most ancient Irish astronomical and medical treatises, which, under his care, would have done much to advance the reputation of our country abroad. This project will, we trust, not be overlooked by his worthy successor in the chair of mathematics in our University.

reputation of their country, will be hereafter found in the same category with that of the nobleman\* who regarded as a collection of foolish trifles the great work, now esteemed one of the chief literary glories of Italy.

The "Irish Archæological Society" commenced its labours by publishing, in 1841, a thin volume, containing two "Tracts relating to Ireland," the first of which is an Irish poem,† written by Cormacan *Eigeas*, or the *Sage*, A.D. 942, on the military circuit made round Erin, in the preceding year, by Muirheartach, or Moriortagh Mac Neill, Prince of Aileach, in Ulster, with "ten hundred heroes of the race of Owen of the red weapons."

His object in this expedition was, "to facilitate his peaceful accession to the throne of Ireland, by impressing the conviction on the minds of the Irish that he was the next most powerful, as well as the most legitimate heir to the monarchy then existing."

The poem consists of two hundred and fifty-five *ranns*, or stanzas, detailing minutely all the circumstances connected with the circuit. The Bard carefully recounts the various localities through which the army passed, and the tributes and gifts received from the Danish and native Princes; concluding with an account of the return of the Irish troops and their hostages to the palace of Aileach,‡ and a curious description of the prolonged festivities with which that event was commemorated.

The present Viscount O'Neil, now in his seventy-first year, is the twenty-ninth in descent from the hero of this expedition, and with him the line of "Muirheartach of the golden locks" becomes ex-

\* "Le Cardinal Hippolyte d'Este, à qui l' 'Orlando Furioso,' fut dédié demanda à l'auteur, 'Messer Lodovico, dove Diavolo avete pigliato tante coglionerie?' Leon X. fut infiniment plus débonnaire pour cet Auteur. Presqu'au mesme tems qu'il foudroya ses anathemes contre Martin Luther, il publia une Bulle en faveur des poésies de Louys Arioste, menaçant d'excommunication ceux qui les blâmeroient, ou empesheroient le profit de l'Imprimeur."—*P. Bayle*.

† *The Circuit of Ireland, by Muirheartach Mac Neill, Prince of Aileach; a Poem, written in the year DCCCCXLII., by Cormacan Eigeas, Chief Poet of the North of Ireland: now for the first time printed; with a Translation and Notes, by John O'Donovan.* Dublin: for the Irish Archæological Society. 1841.

‡ The ruins of this great Cyclopæan fortress, formerly the residence of the northern O'Neills, are still to be seen in the county of Donegal, about a mile from the boundary of that of Derry, on the summit of a small mountain, 802 feet high.

tinct for ever. The concluding tract\* in the Society's volume is a reprint of an exceedingly rare pamphlet of sixteen pages, written in 1589, by Robert Payne, an Englishman, who became manager in Ireland for twenty-five of his countrymen, each of whom had "undertaken" four hundred acres of the great estate wrested from the last Geraldine Earl of Desmond, in 1583.

The writer's desire was to see Elizabeth's project of planting all Ireland with English settlers fully carried out; and for the promotion of this object he paints in glowing colours all the natural advantages which the island possessed of soil and climate. The natives, he tells us, have been much maligned by designing knaves; "the better sorte are verie civil and honestly given, the most of them greatly inclined to husbandrie," and so hospitable, that "although they did never see you before, they will make you the best cheare their country yieldeth for two or three dayes, and take not anything therefore. They keepe their promise faithfully, and are more desirous of peace than our English men, for that in time of warres they are more charged, and also they are fatter praies for the enemy who respecteth no person." The author gives many interesting particulars of the prices of the various necessities of life, and other productions of the country, which, he says, are so cheap, that one can keep a better house in Ireland for fifty pounds a-year, than in England for four times that amount. Although very brief, this little tract gives an excellent account of the state of things encountered in Ireland by the first English "undertakers," in the reign of Elizabeth.

The Latin annals of Ireland,† ascribed, on the authority of Ussher, to James Grace, of the Franciscan Convent of Kilkenny, ex-

\* "*A brife description of Ireland: made in this yeere, 1589, by Robert Payne. unto XXV. of his partners, for whom he is undertaker there. Truly published verbatim, according to his letters, by Nich. Gorsan, one of the said partners, for that he would his countrymen should be partakers of the many good Notes therein conteined. With diuers Notes taken out of others the Authoures letters, written to his said partners, sithenes the first impression, well worth the reading. Edited by Aquilla Smith, M.D., M.R.I.A.* Dublin: for the Irish Archæological Society. 1841.

† *Jacobi Grace, Kilkenniensis, Annales Hiberniæ. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, by the Rev. Richard Butler, M.R.I.A.* Dublin: for the Irish Archæological Society. 1842.

The family of Grace, one of the most ancient and honorable in Ireland, descend from the Norman Chevalier, Raimond, surnamed "*Crassus*," or *le Gras*, who, by his marriage with Basilia, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, became possessed of the vast territory in the County Kilkenny, known as



tend from A.D. 1074 to the year 1514, and contain much valuable information relative to the affairs of the "Pale" and the English colonists. "We must not, however, suppose that these annals were to the monks the dry and bare catalogues which they are to us, or

Grace's Country, or *Tir na-n Grasa*, and which originally covered an extent of eighty thousand acres.

His descendants becoming Barons of Courtstown, were long the chief family in Kilkenny, where, for many years before the settlement there of the Butlers, founders of the illustrious house of Ormond, they enjoyed an almost regal power, and endeared themselves to the people by their munificent hospitality and the number of religious houses which they endowed. Almaric *le Gras*, Baron of Courtstown, was, in 1385, "by royal licence," permitted to contract an alliance with Tibina, daughter of O'Meagher, Prince of the territory of Ikerrin (now incorporated with the county Tipperary), "for the better preservation of the peace of the county Kilkenny." From this period the Graces continued to fraternize and intermarry with the natives; and it is curious to find the descendants of the Norman Chevalier adopting Irish surnames, and commemorating their achievements in Gaelic songs. In an English version of one of these compositions, which is entitled "*Grasagh-abó*," or "The Graces for ever!" their slogan or war-cry, we find the following stanzas:—

"O Courtstown! thy walls rise in beauty and pride,  
From thy watch-tower's summit the bold foe is desied,  
Though the hearts of thy children with courage o'erflow,  
Still their strength is the war-shout of *Grasagh-abó*.

O Courtstown! thou home of the great and renown'd,  
Thy bulwarks what heroes of battle surround,  
The Shees, Rooths, and Shortalls, whose bosoms still glow,  
To join in the conflict with *Grasagh-abó*."

Colonel Richard Grace, the personal friend of Strafford and of Ormonde, served Charles I. with distinguished reputation in England, and was the last person of distinction who held out against Cromwell in Ireland; from which he passed with a number of his countrymen into France, and subsequently into Spain, where they followed the fortunes of the Royal exiles. He was so highly esteemed by Queen Henrietta Maria, that she entrusted the Duke of York to his sole care, when he secretly fled for refuge into Spain; and a letter, written in 1658, is still extant, acknowledging the receipt of a thousand gold pieces from one of the Graces, for the use of the Royal fugitives. On the Restoration, Colonel Richard Grace accompanied the Royal family to England, as Chamberlain to the Duke of York; and when the wars of 1689 broke out, "replacing," says a late writer, "the helmet on his hoary head, he discovered all his juvenile ardour in battle, and all that contempt of fortune and of life, as light in the balance with duty, which he had manifested in the pride of his age." Appointed Governor of the important town of Athlone, he prepared to resist, with a slender garrison, the immense and formidable army by which he was beleaguered. When summoned to surrender, he returned a passionate defiance—"These are my terms," said he, discharging a pistol in the air; "these only I will give or receive; and when my provisions are consumed, I will defend till I eat my old boots." By his heroic conduct and military talents he obliged the enemy to raise the siege, and fell fighting in the royal cause, in 1691.

No less faithful to the national or royal cause was John Grace, Baron of Courtstown, one of the Council of the Confederation of 1642; his

that the inhabitants of the monastery were satisfied with that modicum of knowledge which we have inherited from them. Every name entered in their registry at its entry had its own peculiar history, and that history was preserved in the traditions of the chapter-

estate, confiscated by the regicides, was restored by Cromwell, as a token of personal admiration for his manly and generous enemy, who never failed to perform the offices of humanity, even to the soldiers who were in arms against him. In 1686, this brave and good man was appointed High Sheriff and Lieutenant-Governor of the County of Kilkenny; and, in three years afterwards, he represented the same County in Parliament. On the Revolution, he raised and equipped a regiment of foot and a troop of horse, at his own expense, for the service of King James, whom he further assisted with money and plate, amounting, it is said, to fourteen thousand pounds sterling. Possessing a high character and great local influence, he was early solicited, with splendid promises of favour, to join William's party; but yielding to the strong impulse of honorable feelings, he instantly, on perusing the proposal to this effect from one of the Duke of Schomberg's emissaries, seized a card accidentally lying near him, and returned this indignant answer upon it—"Go, tell your master I despise his offer; tell him that honor and conscience are dearer to a gentleman than all the wealth and titles a prince can bestow." The card, which he sent uncovered by the bearer of the rejected offer, happening to be the six of hearts, is to this day very generally known by the name of "*Grace's card*," in the city of Kilkenny. This gallant soldier died in 1690; his regiment, however, found a fitting commander in his son, Robert Grace, under whom it performed prodigies of valor. At the unequal battle of Aughrim, where 15,000 badly armed Irish made such a gallant stand against upwards of 30,000 of the finest troops of Europe, the noble enthusiasm of "*Grace's Regiment*" evinced, we are told, a patriotic devotion that might dignify a Spartan band. "Of that fine body, selected from the flower of the youth of *Grace's country*, not fifty returned to their homes, where they were received with scorn and reproaches, till their chieftain's testimony confirmed their claim to the same heroic intrepidity which had distinguished their fallen comrades. The plaintive strains excited by this event were the aspirations of a whole people; they are still preserved, and still elevate the peasant's heart with sentiments of hereditary pride and national feeling." In consequence of their unshaken loyalty to their unfortunate Sovereign, in times—

"When treason bar'd her bloody arm, and madden'd round the land,"

the Graces were stripped, by forfeitures, of a great portion of their ancient extensive possessions. "Thus, after a period of nearly five centuries and a half, during which the house of Butler alone was paramount to that of Grace, the existence of the latter, as a Kilkenny family, may be said to terminate, as the small estate of Holdenstown is the only property they at present possess there. Henceforth they are to be heard of in the Queen's County, where the representative of the Ballylinch branch became seated; and his descendant is now, by the extinction of the line of Courtstown, the head of the family."

In latter times, the Graces became connected by marriage with the most noble families of England, and have been highly distinguished by their attachment to literature and the fine arts. Sheffield Grace, F.S.A., has left a lasting memorial of his elegant learning and munificence in his privately printed "*Memoirs of the Family of Grace, 1822*," a magnificently illustrated work, and the only piece of Irish family history extant.

room and of the cloister. From the founder of the house and the giver of broad lands, to the bequeather of a cope and the increaser of their holiday pittance, all their benefactors had their places in the grateful memory of the brotherhood; and the novice and the lay-brother were often told why this baron bestowed the rich farm, and why it was leased to such a knight; why this lady founded an altar and a chaplaincy; and why such a burgess was commemorated with a double lection. Every name in the registry was made the text of some grave homily, or recalled some story, kept alive, not only by being repeated on every recurring anniversary, among the habitual sitters round the refectory fire, and amongst the pacers in the cloisters, but by being told to the knights and squires who used the monastery as an inn, and to the pilgrims and visitors from other religious houses, who there claimed charitable hospitality."

This work of Grace, forming the first of the Society's series of the Latin Annals of Ireland, has been admirably translated and edited by the Rev. Richard Butler, who is deeply versed in the original sources of Anglo-Irish history.

An insult offered to Congal, Prince of Ulster, at a banquet held by Donal, King of Ireland, in his newly erected fort of *Dun na n-Gedh*, or the "Dun of the Spears," on the south side of the river Boyne, near the great Pagan tumulus of Dowth, is supposed to have led to the battle fought A.D. 637, at *Magh Rath* (the Plain of the Rath) or Moira, in the county of Down; in which, according to the prediction of St. Columba, a large number of Britons, Picts, and Albanian Scots were defeated by the men of Erin, after a sanguinary engagement for six days. "This," says a learned writer of the last century, "is one of the most important events in Scottish history; and yet, through the destruction of records, in the time of Edward I., the latter historians of North Britain were strangers to it." The bardic accounts of this battle, and of the banquet by which it was caused, form the third of the Society's volumes.\* It would be difficult to over-estimate the historic value of such documents; the numerous particulars they contain of the manners and customs of the old Celtic tribes, together

\* *The Banquet of Dun na n-Gedh, and the Battle of Magh Rath; an ancient Historical Tale. Now first published, from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. With a Translation and Notes, by John O'Donovan. Dublin: for the Irish Archæological Society. 1842.*

with their minute descriptions of persons, costumes, arms, and all other details connected with the events to which they relate, are so interesting and important, that we trust our literary antiquaries will see the propriety of directing their attention to the publication of a series of the ancient historic tales\* of the Irish, numbers of which are still preserved, signally disproving the flippant assertion, that no materials exist for a civil history of the country, before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans.

\* One of the most important of the ancient Irish historic tales is the "*Tain bo Cuailgne*," or "Narration of the Cattle-spoil of Collon," in the present County of Louth. This document, according to Mr. Curry, is as old as the seventh century, as is evident from the character of the language, manners, customs, and habits of the people mentioned in it; and it contains no reference whatever to anything Christian. A fine copy of this tract is preserved in the "*Leabhar na h-Uidhre*," or the "Book of the Dun Cow," now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. This "Book" was written early in the twelfth century; the writer of it died in the year 1106, and he only compiled it from other works, which he quotes; as, for instance, the "Book of Drom Sneacht," compiled before A.D. 400; the "*Leabhar Buidhe*" or "Yellow Book of Slane;" the "Book of Glengiven," and others. The "Book of the Dun Cow," (so called, because the vellum on which part of it is written was made from the hide of the *Dun Cow* of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois,) passed into the possession of the clan of O'Donel of Donegal. There is a memorandum in the book itself, written in the year 1345, which says that it was then in the hands of the O'Connor of Sligo, and that he had obtained it in ransom for John O'Docharty, chieftain of Ardmire, in the County of Donegal, whom he had taken prisoner. There is also a subsequent entry, written in 1470, which says—"Pray for Hugh O'Donnel, who forcibly took this book from the men of Connacht, after they had held it during the reigns of ten Kings of Sligo." "It is much to be lamented," says the late erudite George Ellis, "that the Irish antiquaries should neglect to give us a series of their ancient popular tales, with a simple and literal English translation." Such a publication would, we may observe, tend to throw light on the history of European romantic fiction, the origin of which has been hitherto conjecturally, and, as it is admitted, without sufficient foundation, ascribed by Mallet and Percy to the Danes, and by Salmasius and Warton to the Saracens. Documents are, however, preserved, written at a very remote period, which tell us that "the four higher orders of the Irish poets, namely, the *Ollamh*, *Anruth*, *Clí*, and *Cano*, were obliged to have seven times fifty *chief stories*, and twice fifty *sub-stories*, to repeat for kings and chieftains." The subjects of the chief stories were demolitions, cattle-spoils, courtships, battles, caves, voyages, tragedies, feasts, sieges, adventures, elopements and plunders. The particular titles of of these tales are given in a vellum manuscript of the twelfth century, now in the Library of the University of Dublin. The foreign philologists, it may be added, have been unable satisfactorily to decide on the etymon of the name of the species of romance called *lai*, which, according to Le Grand, differed from the "*Fabliaux*," in being interspersed with musical interludes. This word seems, however, to correspond exactly with the Celtic noun *laoi* (pronounced *lee*), which is applied by the native Irish to compositions similar to those referred to by the French writer.

Dymmok's "Treatice"\* furnishes us with an excellent account of the state of the country in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and contains some valuable statistical information relative to the number of the English and native forces. The original journals appended of the military operations in the year 1599, form excellent counterparts to the history of the same events given by the Irish annalists.

The short annals,† said by Ware to have been compiled at the Abbey of Multifernan, in Westmeath, extend to the year 1264, and are generally believed to be the oldest Latin annals of Ireland extant.

Of the numerous unpublished Irish legislative enactments, one of the greatest importance, in its own day, and probably still the most interesting to the student of our history, is the celebrated "Statute‡ of Kilkenny;" so called from having been enacted at a parliament held in that town, in the year 1367, by Lionel, Duke of Clarence, second son of Edward the Third of England. The object of this statute was to regulate the internal government of the English colony, and to arrest the decay into which the "*Pale*"§ was rapidly falling. For at this period, says our authority, "many of the English of the said land, forsaking the English language, manners, modes of riding, laws and usages, live and govern themselves according to the manners, fashion, and language of the Irish enemy; and also have made divers marriages and alliances between themselves and the Irish enemy aforesaid; whereby the said land and the liege people thereof, the English language, the allegiance due to our lord the King, and the English laws, these are put in subjection and

\* *A Treatise of Ireland, by John Dymmok. Now first published, from a Manuscript preserved in the British Museum. With Notes, by the Rev. Richard Butler, A.B., M.R.I.A.* Dublin: for the I. A. S. 1842.

† *Annales de Monte Fernandi (Annals of Multifernan). Edited by Aquilla Smith, M.D., M.R.I.A.* Dublin: for the I. A. S. 1842.

‡ *A Statute of the fortieth year of King Edward III., enacted in a Parliament, held in Kilkenny, A. D. 1367, before Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Now first printed, from a Manuscript in the Library of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lambeth; with a Translation and Notes, by James Hardiman, M.R.I.A.* Dublin: for the Irish Archæological Society. 1843.

§ The Pale, so frequently referred to, was the small tract around Dublin; and the only portion of Ireland in which, till the seventeenth century, the English power was fully acknowledged.

decayed, and the Irish enemy exalted and raised up, contrary to reason." All commerce and connections with the natives were accordingly rendered penal, and in fact, the "Statute of Kilkenny" may be regarded as an open declaration of perpetual hostility against the persons, language, and customs of the Irish; a measure which the English government was totally incompetent to enforce. The very town of Kilkenny, in which the Parliament sat, being for its own protection, obliged to pay a heavy annual tribute to the surrounding native chieftains; and the principal Anglo-Norman Nobles continued to contract friendship and alliances with the Irish. And, says the contemporary native writer, "the old chieftains of Erin prospered under those princely English lords, who were our chief rulers, and who had given up their foreignness for a pure mind, their surliness for good manners, their stubbornness for sweet mildness, and who had relinquished their perverseness for hospitality."

Mr. James Hardiman's intimate acquaintance with the manuscript Irish records enabled him to illustrate this singular "Statute" in a most attractive and interesting manner; his annotations forcibly demonstrate the value and importance of ancient legal documents as materials for a country's history.

Hy-Many\* or Maine's territory, extended in ancient times from Clontuskert, near Lanesborough, in the county of Roscommon, southwards to the boundary of Thomond or the county of Clare, and from Athlone westwards, to Sefin and Athenry, in the present county of Galway. This district took its name from the chieftain Maine "*Mor*," or "*the Great*," head of a colony which, in the fifth century, migrated from Oriel in Ulster, seized the territory referred to, and reduced its old Fir-Bolgic or Belgic inhabitants to servitude. The semi-mythic account of this migration, given in the life of Saint Greallan, patron of Hy-Many, is a most singular and interesting illustration of the customs and superstitions of the old Irish clans.

The Clan Kelly, chief tribe of this region, took its name from Maine's descendant *Cellach*, (i. e., *the church founder*,) who flourished

\**The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, commonly called O'Kelly's Country. Now first published from the Book of Lecan, a Manuscript in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy; with a Translation and Notes, and a Map of Hy-Many, by John O'Donovan. Dublin: for the Irish Archæol. Society. 1843.*

in the ninth century; the present appellation O'Kelly being a corruption of the Celtic words *Ui Cellaigh*, signifying literally, the descendants of Cellaeh.

The other chief families of Hy-Many, Mac Eochada or Keogh,\* O'Madden, O'Neachtain or Naghten, O'Macilalaidh or Lally, Mac Aedhagain or Egan, and Mac Cnaimhin or Mac Nevin, held certain hereditary offices under the head of the district; and one of the most valuable portions of the document before us is that which gives the details of the singular Celtic government and laws of "O'Kelly's Country," before the coming of the stranger. Of the many eminent men sprung from the chief family of this district, we may mention Colonel Charles O'Kelly, a distinguished officer, and author of the "*Macariæ Excidium*," noticed in the present paper. Sir William O'Kelly, of Aughrim, who was appointed in 1699, by the Emperor Leopold, to the chairs of Philosophy and History, and chosen by the Austrian states, as head of their new College at Vienna; Count Palatine, King-at-arms, and Poet-Laureat, to three successive Emperors. Baron O'Kelly, of the branch of Lisgallen, was Major-General under the famous Marshal Count Daun, at whose victory over Frederick the Great of Prussia, on 18th June, 1757, in the battle of Cotehemitz, or Kolin, the Irish Major-General was selected by the Austrian Marshal, to carry the account of his success to Vienna.† Count O'Kelly of Aughrim, "ancien employé du Conseil Suprême de Noblesse du Royaume des Pays Bas," has displayed much elegant erudition in his "*Essai historique sur l'Irlande*," published at Brussels, in 1837.

The family of Lally de Tollendal,‡ so celebrated in modern history,

\* The father of our eloquent member for Athlone is at present the principal representative of this once powerful clan.

† This eminent officer was afterwards advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and died in 1767. His wife, we may here remark, was the Countess de Marcolini, a favorite of, and maid of honor to, the Empress Maria Theresa; her only daughter, Mademoiselle O'Kelly, was one of the youthful companions of, or in other words, brought up with, the daughter of the empress, Marie Antoinette (afterwards Queen of France), and finally married her own cousin, le Comte de Marcolini. As a curious specimen of minute investigation and research, we would desire to refer the reader to Note ii. of Mr. O'Callaghan's "*Macariæ Excidium*," in which a list is given of all the officers of the name of O'Kelly in the army of King James.

‡ The head of this family, an officer in the Irish army of King James II. retired to France after the Capitulation of Limerick. His son, the Count

descended from the old warlike sept of O'Maeilalaidh (*O'Mullally*), of Hy-Many, and took its title from the castle of Tolendal (*Tulach na Dala*, or *The Hill of the Meeting*), four miles from Tuam. That enlightened philanthropist, the Rev. Samuel Madden, founder of the Royal Dublin Society, and of the "Madden Premiums," for the encouragement of learning in the University of Dublin, and "whose name," said Dr. Johnson, "Ireland ought to honour," is supposed to have also descended from one of the old tribes of "O'Kelly's country." He was, indeed, a worthy representative of Owen O'Madden, head of

Lally de Tollendal, became Viceroy of India, and Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Esprit. In 1760 he maintained for eight months the town of Pondicherry against the English, under their gallant Irish General, Sir Eyre Coote, to whom he capitulated, after exerting every expedient which skill or valour could suggest. In 1766, the Count de Tollendal was, by an infamous and illegal arrêt, hurried to the scaffold, with more than savage barbarity. His son, who at that period was studying, under the name of Trophime, at the Collège d'Harcourt, was only acquainted with the secret of his birth at the very moment he was about to be deprived of his parent. On this painful subject he expresses himself as follows:—"Je n'ai appris le nom de ma mère que plus de quatre ans après l'avoir perdue, celui de mon père, qu'un seul jour avant de le perdre; j'ai couru pour lui porter mon premier hommage et mon éternel adieu, pour lui faire entendre au moins la voix d'un fils parmi les cris de ses bourreaux, pour l'embrasser du moins sur l'échafaud où il allait périr. J'ai couru vainement—on avait, hâté l'instant. Je n'ai plus trouvé mon père; je n'ai vu que la trace de son sang." After this dreadful event young Lally continued for some time to pursue his studies at the same college, under the inspection of his cousin, Mademoiselle Dillon. Having conceived the determination to obtain the reversal of his father's attainder, he unceasingly pursued that object, and finally succeeded. His eloquence, filial piety, and the energy of his pleadings, having interested in his favour the most illustrious persons of his time, and amongst the rest Voltaire, who receiving the intelligence of his friend's success, became reanimated for an instant, on the bed of death, and wrote the following billet to Lally:—

"Le mourant ressuscite en apprenant cette grande nouvelle: il embrasse bien tendrement M. de Lally; il voit que le roi est le défenseur de la justice, il mourra content.—26 Mai, 1778." These were the last lines ever penned by the great French author, "who," says a late writer, "was always a friend to virtue in distress."

Lally Tollendal is regarded as one of the early and rational friends of freedom in France. Endeavouring to arrest the atrocities of the Revolution, in preparing which he had been no inconsiderable actor, he did not hesitate to attack Mirabeau himself, to whom he addressed that memorable sentence—"On peut avoir de l'esprit de grandes idées, et être un tyran." We will not here further pursue the history of this illustrious descendant of the old Irish clan of the "O'Mullallys of the heavy blows." He died in 1830, a Peer of France and Member of the Royal French Academy, of which, we are told, he was a distinguished ornament, both from the high merit of his numerous literary productions, as well as from his splendid oratorical talents.



the tribe in the fourteenth century, and who, according to the old Irish chronicler, was famed for "the splendour of his hospitality to the great and the humble, for there was not a house which the English chieftains wished more to frequent than the house of Owen, from their knowledge alike of his truth and hospitality, and from the splendour of his mansion to receive them; for this fair prince erected for a habitation a strong castle of stone and fine timber, the like of which had not been erected by any sub-chief in Erin. He also repaired the churches of the country in general, and he taught truth to its chieftains, and kept his people from treachery and fratricide, and checked their evil customs and dissensions, and taught charity and humanity in his goodly districts."

The Mortilogé\* of Christ Church, Dublin, contains a catalogue of the various benefactors to that monastic institution, before the Reformation, arranged according to the days of the year on which their deaths took place. In general, the gifts bestowed are particularized, and afford curious information relative to the social state of the people. The donations consisted of houses, lands, vestments, plate, and money. A few of the entries will serve to give an idea of the general character of the "Mortilogé." Gerald, Earl of Kildare, we are told, presented, among other articles, his best cloak, of purple cloth of gold, to make vestments. John Dowgan, merchant, bequeathed a silver bowl, weighing twenty-two ounces, with directions to have it fashioned into a chalice; and Thomas Montayng restored, without payment, the Mass-book of St. Mary's chapel, which had been pledged with him for thirteen shillings and four pence.

All the gifts were carefully registered and the prayers of the community offered regularly for the welfare of the pious donors. "Nor was it only gratitude, and the wish to maintain the credit of their house before the visitors, that induced the monks to fill up in conversation the bare outline of their registers with traditional his-

\* *The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, Dublin. Edited, from the Original Manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, by John Clarke Crosthwaite, A.M., of Trinity College, Dublin, Rector of St. Mary-at-Hill, and St. Andrew Hubbard, London. With an Introduction, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D., V.P.R.I.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. Dublin: for the I. A. S. 1844.*

tories; many of them had the strong interest of relationship, or of family dependence, connected with the names recorded; and it was pleasant to tell how their fathers had fought in the battle in which their benefactor was killed, whose tomb was in the choir, and whose death was in the Mortiloge. With respect, then, to occurrences in its own neighbourhood, or referring to its special benefactors, the date and the succession was almost all that was wanted by the inmates of a religious house, and these were supplied by the drier of their chronicles; the cloister tradition supplied the rest, giving to the merest outline fulness of detail and depth of colouring."

The Martyrology is an abridgement of Ado's, that in general use at the period, among religious orders, with the addition of several Irish saints. This, to us the most important part of the work, has been fully and admirably illustrated by the Rev. J. H. Todd, from the Irish manuscript sources, and especially from the singular document known as the Festology of St. Oengus *Cele De*,\* or, Oengus, *the Servant of God*.

In the introduction we find a vast amount of hagiographical erudition, without which many portions of the compilation would be of little service to the ordinary student. The "Book of Christ Church" is the only Irish monastic ritual yet published. The typography of

\* This is a metrical account of the lives of Irish Saints, compiled in the ninth century by Oengus, who was for some time a monk of the celebrated Abbey of Tamhlacht, or Tallaght, near Dublin, and was surnamed *Cele De*, (or Servant of God,) from his great devotion and sanctity. The *Felire* is written in *Rinn-ard* (*the high-pointed metre*) consisting of six syllables in every verse, or twelve in every half *rann* or quatrain. Of this kind of verse there are three different varieties to be found in the works of the more ancient Irish poets. Oengus was the author of many other works relating to the history of the Saints of Ireland, "all of which," says Dr. Todd, "are still extant, but, to the disgrace of this country, extant only in manuscripts, which, in another generation, will probably become illegible, or at least the ample means we now possess for illustrating and translating them will be seriously diminished, if not wholly lost." The researches of the Secretary of our Archæological Society have lately brought to light a manuscript copy of high antiquity, and in beautiful preservation, of that important work, which has caused so much discussion, entitled "*Saltair na Rann*," or the "Psalter of the Poems," the publication of which would be of the highest value to the lexicographer and the philologist.

Oengus *Cele De* is commemorated in the Irish calendar on the 18th February, and is one of the many native Saints of the old Irish church. He must not, however, be confounded with "*the Culdees*," "who," says Bishop Keith, "were apparently, from Columba's time to the twelfth century, the only monks and clergy in Scotland, and all Irish."

this volume is the most exquisite specimen of the art, hitherto executed in Ireland. Its calendars and rubrics rival in beauty and brilliancy the productions of the world-famed press of Hanicq, of Mechlin.

The Priory of "All Hallows" or All Saints, founded in the twelfth century, by the notorious Dermot Mac Murchad, King of Leinster, stood on the ground now occupied by the University of Dublin. On the dissolution of the religious houses, in the reign of Henry VIII., that king granted the buildings and site of this establishment to the citizens of Dublin, who, in 1592, transferred it to their Archbishop, Adam Loftus, for the purpose of erecting an University, then and since styled "the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, near Dublin." The documents printed in the volume before us\* relate exclusively to the property and affairs of the monastery, and must ever prove deeply interesting to the local antiquarian.

The present baronies of Carra, Erris, and Tirawly, in the County of Mayo, and the barony of Tireragh, in the County of Sligo, were formerly known as *Tir Fhiachrach*, or Tireragh,† signifying the Land of the Sons of Fiachra, who was king of Connacht in the fourth century.

This territory was originally possessed by the clans of O'Dowda, O'Shaughnessy, O'Clerigh, and Mac Firis. The two latter families were the hereditary antiquarians and historians of the district, and to their labours we are indebted for the preservation of many of our most important historical documents.

The O'Dowdas, who take that name from their ancestor, *Dubhda*, signifying literally "*the Dark Hero*," were the chiefs of Tireragh; and have been ever distinguished by their gigantic stature and intrepidity. In the last century, members of this family were, for their eminent military services abroad, advanced to the rank of nobles, in

\* *Registrum Prioratûs Omnium Sanctorum juxta Dublin. Edited, from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; with Additions from other sources, and Notes by the Rev. Richard Butler, M.R.I.A.* Dublin: for the I. A. S. 1845.

† *The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, commonly called O'Dowda's Country. Now first published, from the Book of Lecan, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and from the Genealogical MS. of Duaid Mac Firis, in the library of Lord Roden; with a Translation and Notes, and a Map of Hy-Fiachrach, by John O'Donovan.* Dublin: for the I. A. S. 1844.

Venice and in Germany. The present representatives of the clan are Tadhg or Thaddæus O'Dowda, Esq., of Bunnyconnelan, in the county of Mayo, and Robert O'Dowda, Esq., Registrar of the Supreme Court of Calcutta.

The clan of O'Shaughnessy, in old times, held extensive possessions at and near Gort. A Latin author of the last century, speaking of them, says—"Little must he know of Ireland who hath not heard of the antiquity, grandeur, and loyalty of this great family." Descended from Guaire,\* surnamed the "hospitable," king of Connacht in the seventh century, they were ever remarkable for their munificence and liberality. A writer who travelled through Ireland and the Continent, in the times of Charles the First, tells us, that the O'Shaughnessys then excelled in elegant hospitality all the nobility of Connacht, with the sole exception of the Marquis of Clan-Ricard. The lands of the O'Shaughnessys, forfeited in consequence of their attachment to the cause of King James the Second, were granted, for a term of years, by William III., to Sir Thomas Prendergast, whose character has been depicted, by Swift,† in the darkest colours, as a sordid betrayer of his friends, and a relentless persecutor of the Clergy of the Established Church. Owing to this loss, William O'Shaughnessy entered the French service, where he died in 1744, having attained to the rank of Colonel. On his death, his cousin, Colman O'Shaughnessy, titular Bishop of Ossory, essayed at law to recover the property of his ancestors. The suit was continued by his brother Robuck,‡ whose son Joseph, assisted by his relatives, took forcible possession of the mansion-house of Gort; on which occasion the bells of Athenry and of Galway were rung for joy. The whole clan believed that the strangers were defeated; and the Irish poets of the locality sung that the rightful heir was restored, and that the old splendour of the O'Shaughnessys was about to be renewed in the halls of their fathers. This triumph was, however, but of short duration. All the efforts of the O'Shaughnessys were rendered abortive by the influence of Prendergast's representatives, who re-

\* "*Cofial le Guaire*," "Hospitable as Guaire," is a proverb in constant use among the Irish peasantry.

† See the "*Legion Club*."

‡ This name is a corruption of the Irish *Reabhach*, which is almost synonymous with *Dathi*, and signifies one expert in feats of arms.

obtained possession; and are said, for carrying on their suit, to have borrowed eight thousand pounds from Lord Chancellor Mansfield, which sum was charged on, and paid by, the estate. Having been thus stripped of their inheritance, the old clan of O'Shaughnessy sunk into obscurity. A few months ago, the Gort property was wrested from its late proprietors by the "Incumbered Estates Commission," which is effectively fulfilling the predictions of the Irish Jacobite poets, who never ceased to sing "that Providence would only suffer the foreign churls, who had usurped the lands of the old English and of the noble Gaels of Erin, to hold their white mansions transiently."\*

To the O'Clerighs we owe many valuable Irish historical compilations, one of the most important of which is the work known as "The Annals of the Four Masters," so called from the number of antiquarians engaged in its production. This great body of annals, the most complete of which any northern European country can boast, is the only work extant which furnishes us with the history of the great Celtic tribes or families who, from the most remote times until the dissolution of the last remnant of the clan system, in the seventeenth century, constituted the old Irish nation—the vestiges of whose ancient greatness are still preserved in the names of almost every hill, river, and townland in our country.

The family of Mac Firbis of Tireragh did infinite service to Celtic literature by their collections of ancient legal and historical documents, the most important of which are, the *Leabhar Buidhe*, or "Yellow Book," the "Great Book of Leacan," or Lacken, and the "Book of Mac Firbis," copies of which invaluable manuscripts are now in the splendid library of the Royal Irish Academy. This race

\* This sentiment pervades all the Irish Jacobite poems. The following stanza is taken from "The Vision of Conor O'Riordan," written about 1760, to the beautiful Munster air of "*An Spealadoir*," or "The Mower:"

"A woeful day, a dismal fate,  
Will overtake your foes,  
Grey hairs, the curses of deep hate,  
And sickness, and all woes!  
Death will bestride them in the night—  
Their every hope shall meet with blight,  
And God will put to utter flight  
Their long-enjoyed repose!"

For further illustrations of this feeling among the native Irish, and which became extinct after the relaxation of the Penal Code, in 1793, the reader is referred to "*The Poets and Poetry of Munster*," by J. O'Daly. 12mo. Dublin: 1850.

of hereditary historians became extinct in 1670, by the murder of Duaid Mac Firis, at Dun-Flin, in Sligo. He was the author of the account of Tireragh, printed by the Irish Archæological Society, and of many other unpublished works, which show how deservedly he has been styled the most learned Irish antiquary of his time. One of the most interesting portions of the volume before us is that which treats of the ancient manner of inaugurating the Irish Chieftains, a subject hitherto involved in the greatest obscurity. The editor has, however, in his appendix, brought together all the historic evidence bearing on this curious point,\* and fully succeeded in giving us a view of the strange ceremonies performed on the occasion of electing a Chief: who, in times of peace, was to govern the tribe according to the laws of the *Brehons*, and under whose satin banner

\* The following poetical version of that part of the above work which relates to the inauguration of the Chief of the O'Neills, at the rath of Tulach Og (*the Hill of the Youths*), now Tullyhawk, in Tyrone, is from the pen of the late Mr. T. Davis, of Dublin:—

"Come, look on the pomp when they 'make an O'Neill;  
The muster of dynasts—O'Hagan, O'Sheil,  
O'Cahan, O'Hanlon, O'Breslin, and all,  
From gentle Ard Uladh to rude Donegal:  
Saint Patrick's successor, with bishops thirteen,  
And ollavs, and brehons, and minstrels are seen,  
Round Tulach Og Rath, like bees in the spring,  
All swarming to honor a 'True Irish King.'

"Unsaddled he stands on the foot-dinted rock,  
Like a 'pillar-stone' fixed against every shock.  
Round, round is the Rath, on a far-seeing hill;  
Like his blemishless honor and vigilant will.  
The grey-beards are telling how chiefs by the score  
Have been crowaed on the 'Rath of the Kings' heretofore;  
While, crowded, yet ordered, within its green ring,  
Are the dynasts and priests, round the 'True Irish King!'

"The chronicler read him the laws of the clan,  
And pledged him to bide by their blessing and ban;  
His *sgian* and his sword are unbuckled, to show  
That they only were meant for a foreigner foe;  
A white willow wand has been put in his hand—  
A type of pure, upright, and gentle command—  
While hierarchs are blessing, the slipper they fling,  
And O'Cahan proclaims him 'A True Irish King.'

"Thrice looked he to heaven, with thanks and with prayer—  
Thrice looked to his borders with sentinel stare—  
To the waves of Loch Neagh, the heights of Straban;  
And thrice on his allies, and thrice on his clan—  
One clash on their bucklers!—one more!—they are still—  
What means the deep pause on the crest of the hill?  
Why gaze they above him?—a war-eagle's wing!  
'Tis an omen!—Hurrah! for the 'True Irish King.'

"God aid him! God save him!—and smile on his reign—  
The terror of England—the ally of Spain.  
May his sword be triumphant o'er Sassanach arts!  
Be his throne ever girt by strong hands and true hearts!  
May the course of his conquest run on till he see  
The flag of Plantagenet sink in the sea!  
May minstrels for ever his victories sing,  
And saints make the bed of the 'True Irish King!'"

the clansmen were bound to march to the field of battle, when "their own danger and the fear for their possessions" drove "the noble tribes of sharp-spears" to take up arms for the "fertile, warm, music-loving old land of Erin."\*

On an incident recorded in this work Mr. S. Ferguson has founded his inimitable ballad of the "Welshmen of Tirawly;" and we may observe, that in these old Irish historical writers is to be found a vast fund of materials most attractive to the accomplished balladist. For a confirmation of which it is only necessary to refer to Mr. D. F. Mac Carthy's admirable poems,† entitled "The Foray of Con O'Donnel," and "The Voyage of St. Brendan;" and to several exquisite verses on Irish subjects, written by the late Clarence Mangan and Edward Walsh.

This edition of the treatise on Hy-Fiachrach, the largest and most elaborately illustrated of the Society's Irish publications, would, had he not, fortunately for our historic literature, achieved much greater works,‡ be sufficient to entitle Dr. John O'Donovan to the character of the most erudite Hiberno-Celtic scholar and literary antiquary yet produced by this country.

Roderic O'Flaherty, "to whom," says the venerable Charles O'Connor, "this kingdom cannot too much express its obligations," is known to the learned world by his Latin volume, entitled "*Ogygia, seu Rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia*," published in 1685, and dedicated to James, Duke of York. Written in an elegant and vigorous classic style, the only work of its time which gives accurate information relative to the ancient history of Ireland, compiled from original manuscripts, and exhibiting an intimate acquaintance with the writers of ancient and modern ages, this book soon acquired a considerable reputation, and is quoted by almost every foreign author who treats of early Irish history. Dr. Smith, in his catalogue of the Cotton Library, commended our author for his learning and accuracy; as did also that famous scholar, Edward Lhuyd, in the preface to his "*Archæologia*." Our ablest antiqua-

\* *Fearfeasa O Cainte*, Poeta Hibern. Sæc. xvii.

† "Poems of D. F. M'Carthy." 12mo. Dublin: 1850.

‡ It will be scarcely necessary for us to refer here to Dr. O'Donovan's "Grammar of the Irish Language," 8vo, Dublin, 1849; and his great National work, "The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters." 7 vols. 4to. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1851.

rians since that time have admitted that, in it, he has given "secure anchorage" to Irish history. "He has settled the chronology of the Christian ages in Ireland with the greatest accuracy; and even that of Scotland so precisely, that he may justly be esteemed the first chronologer of the affairs of that kingdom." Stripped of his property by the Cromwellians, and only able to recover five hundred acres of his vast estate, after the Restoration, O'Flaherty applied the greater part of his time to the study of the history of his country. He was, however, fortunate enough to possess the intimate friendship of Mac Firbis and Dr. John Lynch, the two most eminent Irish antiquarians of the seventeenth century.

It is much to be regretted that the manuscript of the "Ogygia Christiana," or annals of Ireland from the reception of Christianity, and on which O'Flaherty expended much time and labour, should have been lost. It may, we trust, be yet brought to light—a hope which is strengthened by the recollection that it was only in the middle of the last century his "Vindication of the Ogygia" was recovered, and published by O'Connor. The work under our consideration at present is O'Flaherty's description of H-Iar, or West Connacht,\* first published by the Irish Archæological Society, and supposed to be one of the many similar chorographical treatises compiled late in the seventeenth century, for the illustration of Sir William Petty's Survey of Ireland. The contents of this document may be described as follows:—"After a general view of the boundaries, extent, and baronies of H-Iar Connacht, the author defines its borders, beginning with Loch Measg (Mask), in the north of the barony of Ross, and proceeding by the eastern limits, towards the south, including Loch Orbsen (Corrib), he turns to the west by the bay of Galway, and thence continues northward, along the shores of the Atlantic, to the Killary harbour, which flows inland, in the direction of Loch Measg, where he began. A general description is then given of the state and appearance of the interior; its mountains, mines, woods, soil, rivers, and lakes; the bays and harbours round the coast; the productions of the country, as fish,

\* *A Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connacht, written A.D. 1684, by Roderick O'Flaherty, author of the "Ogygia." Edited, from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with Notes and Illustrations, by James Hardiman, M.R.I.A. Dublin: for the I.A.S. 1846.*



fowl, beasts, &c.; the ruins of ancient churches, chapels, and other religious places; and finally, the natural disposition of the natives. After which the two great lakes, Measg and Orbsen, with some of the islands in the latter, are particularly described; the river, town, and bay of Galway; the half barony of Ross, the barony of Moycullen, the three islands of Aran, and the barony of Ballynahinch, which completes the district."

The principal tribe at an early period in Connacht, was that of the *Ui Flaithbheartaigh* or sons of Flaherty, said to descend from Duach, the Pagan King of Connacht, in the third century, who was surnamed *Teangumha*, from the dulcet tones of his voice. "For," says the old Irish chronicler, "the music of the harp was not sweeter than the sound of his words." In the ninth century, and for long after, this clan dwelt to the east of the great lake Orbsen, or Loch Corrib, on the fertile plains of Moy Seola, now forming the barony of Clare, but which anciently included the district surrounding the present town of Galway. Here they continued to dwell, despite the hostile incursions of the surrounding septs, until the thirteenth century, when, having been driven out by the O'Conors and De Burghs, they crossed Loch Orbsen, and took possession of the districts extending from the western banks of that lake to the shores of the Atlantic, and to which the name of H-Iar, or West Connacht, has been in after ages exclusively applied. There, in course of time, they acquired greater power than they had ever attained in their ancient inheritance.\* Separated from the rest of the kingdom in their peninsulated, and then almost inaccessible district, they interfered but little in the external transactions of the province, and lived on terms of amity and united defence with their neighbours, the ancient clan *Maille*, or O'Malleys.

"Until late in the sixteenth century," says the editor, "the Eng-

\* The clan of O'Halloran was intimately connected with that of O'Flaherty, and migrated with it to Iar-Connacht. From this family Sylvester O'Halloran, the eminent Limerick surgeon, and author of several works on Irish history, is erroneously supposed to have descended. We may add that all the Blakes of Galway are said to descend from Richard Caddle, surnamed *Niger* or *Blacke*, Sheriff of Connacht in 1306, and Bailiff of Galway under Richard De Burgo, the "*Red Earl*" of Ulster, in 1312.

lish knew as little of Iar-Connacht, or its people, as did their forefathers, in the days of Sir John Maundevyle, of the lands of Prestre John, or the men of Inde." Leonard, Lord Gray, towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII., was the first Deputy of Ireland who ventured to approach these western regions. With him Hugh O'Flaherty entered into a compact to pay an annual sum to the king of one hundred shillings and one hundred pence, and to furnish, when required, forty well-armed kerns. In the reign of Elizabeth, Murrogh *na d-tuagh*, or "of the battle-axes," was appointed by the English as head of the O'Flahertys. His clansmen, however, became alienated from him for joining "the Queen of the strangers," and presuming, under pretence of her authority, which they despised, to claim power over Donall, surnamed *Cron*, or the *swarthy* O'Flaherty, the legitimate chief of the tribe, whom they all acknowledged. The "Queen's O'Flaherty" continued to be of considerable importance for some time, and received the honour of knighthood, to which it was contemplated to add the further dignity of a peerage; but, having lost all influence with his countrymen, by his connection with the foreigners, he was allowed to sink into obscurity, without receiving the promised ennoblement. In the wars of 1642, the O'Flahertys joined the rest of their countrymen in the royal or national cause, and consequent forfeitures deprived them of their ancient property. In the seventeenth century, the entire territory of West Connacht was confiscated, and such of the O'Flahertys as survived war and famine were thrown landless on the world. The country was parcelled out, and after the Restoration was granted to several patentees. The principal of these were the Earl of Clan-Ricard, Richard Martin of Dangan, John Browne, ancestor of the Marquis of Sligo, the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, the Archbishop of Tuam, Sir George Bingham, of Castlebar, several descendants of the wealthy burghers of Galway, and others. The most extensive of these grantees was Richard Martin, Esq., "a ranke Papiste;" but, so far as the acquisition of property was concerned, one of the most remarkable men of his time. He joined, or rather was obliged to join, the Irish army of James II., in which he was appointed captain of foot; he afterwards submitted to William III., and obtained a free and general pardon.

"In conclusion," says the editor, "it may be observed, that although West-Connacht, which equals in size some of our Irish counties, was wrested from the O'Flahertys, and transferred to new masters in the seventeenth century, it remains to this day, with all its natural advantages, one of the least improved and least productive portions of the same extent in Ireland. Hence the poet has sarcastically pointed to

" 'The houseless wilds of Connamara.'"

Mr. Hardiman, whose name has been long and honorably associated with the higher branches of Irish historical literature, has edited the treatise on Iar-Connacht in a most ample and attractive manner. He appears for this purpose to have carefully examined all the manuscript authorities; and among his illustrations will be found numerous original documents of the greatest interest—from the Papal Bulls relative to the ancient ecclesiastical affairs of the district, to the curious will of "nimble Dick Martin." He has thus succeeded in giving an accurate picture of the men and manners in former days of that great province, of whose history and antiquities he is naturally looked on as the guardian, and in which some of the most important events in our annals were transacted.

In 1846 appeared the Society's "*Miscellany*,"\* the principal contents of which are:—An Irish Poem, attributed to St. Columba or Colum-Cille, a valuable specimen of the Irish language at a remote period. "De Concilio Hiberniæ," A.D. 1297, the earliest known record of an Anglo-Irish Parliament. An elegant and pathetic poem by the author of "Cambrensis Eversus," in which he states his reasons for not returning to his native land. The Obits of the Carmelite Monastery of Kil-Cormick, now Frankfort, in the King's County. The Irish Charters from the "*Book of Kells*,"† relative to the pro-

\* *The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, vol. i. Dublin: for the I. A. S. 1846.

† This venerable and splendid volume is now preserved among the manuscripts of the University of Dublin. "Ireland," says a late English writer, "may justly be proud of the 'Book of Kells.' This copy of the Gospels, traditionally asserted to have belonged to St. Columba, is unquestionably the most elaborately executed manuscript of early art now in existence, far excelling, in the gigantic size of the letters in the frontispiece of the Gospel, the excessive minuteness of the ornamental details, the number of its decorations, the fineness of the writing, and the endless variety of initial capital letters,

perty of the monastery of that town, within the latter part of the twelfth century, and exceedingly interesting to the historian, as proving that the ancient Irish had committed their covenants to writing in their own language, before the Anglo-Norman invasion, and that their chiefs, though not succeeding according to the law of primogeniture, claimed the right of binding their successors to covenants lawfully made by them. According to Dr. O'Donovan, we may clearly infer from some entries in the "*Book of Armagh*," that deeds of contract, and even of sale of lands, were committed to writing from the earliest ages of Christianity in Ireland.

Amongst other documents in the "*Miscellany*" we may notice Dr. Thomas Molyneux's Account of his Journey into Connacht in 1709; a Letter from Oliver Cromwell to his son, Harry Cromwell,

with which every page is ornamented, the famous Gospels of Lindisfarne, in the Cottonian Library. But this manuscript is still more valuable on account of the various pictorial representations of different scenes in the life of our Saviour, delineated in a style totally unlike that of every other school, and of which I believe the only other specimens are to be found in the Psalter of St. John's College, Cambridge, and at St. Gall; the latter, however, being far inferior in execution to those in the '*Book of Kells*.' The various readings of this manuscript are as important as its ornamental details, and in it is to be found the celebrated passage asserting the divinity of the Holy Ghost, which has hitherto been considered as unique in the Silver Gospels, at Vercelli. It occurs in St. John iii. 5, 6, (fo. 297, v.) These words were struck out by the Arians, and Father Simon asserted that there was no Latin manuscript in existence in which they were to be found."—*Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*, by I. O. Westwood, F.L.S. London, 1845. This learned writer also tells us, that "at a period, when the fine arts may be said to have been almost extinct in Italy and other parts of the Continent—namely, from the fifth to the end of the eighth century—a style of art had been established and cultivated in Ireland, absolutely distinct from that of all other parts of the civilized world. There is abundant evidence to prove that in the sixth and seventh centuries the art of ornamenting manuscripts of the Sacred Scriptures, and especially of the Gospels, had attained a perfection in Ireland almost marvellous, and which in after ages was adopted and imitated by the Continental schools visited by the Irish missionaries. *Several of the finest fac-similes given by Astle as Anglo-Saxon, are from Irish manuscripts; and thus Sylvestre, who has copied them, has fallen into the same error; whilst Wanley, Casley, and others, appear never to have had a suspicion of the existence of an ancient school of art in Ireland.*"

In the year 1849, Queen Victoria and her Royal Consort, inscribed their autographs in the "*Book of Kells*." This venerable volume, we may add, was in existence centuries before the first of Her Majesty's ancestors ascended the English throne; and is credibly believed to have been the companion of Columba or Colum-Cille, the Irish Saint who first spread the light of the Gospel through the Pagan districts of Scotland.

Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, A. D. 1656; and the Annals of Ireland from 1443 to 1468, translated into English by Duall Mac Firbis, from an Irish original, now unknown. One of the most interesting papers in the volume is a genealogical sketch of a branch of the old family of Lynch, who first settled in Galway\* towards the close of the thirteenth century; and becoming closely identified with the interests of the town, appear from that period as the most important of its burgesses. Owing to their influence Henry VII. granted letters patent, empowering the citizens to elect a mayor, "to be their head and chieftain," which office was almost always filled by the Lynchs. In the fifteenth century we are told, that James Lynch Fitz-Stephen "gott his own son hanged out of one of the windows of his house for having committed murther, and broken trust towards a stranger, for to be an example of sincere fidelity to all posterity." On this incident the Rev. Edward Groves has founded his admirable melodrama of the "Warden of Galway." In 1529, it was ordained "that all ships, with a Lynch† in any of them, that entered into the haven of Galway, should shoot their great cannons at their passing by the black rock;" and "this custom," says the old writer, "is observed to this very day." They continued to hold a high position in their town, and to be always the largest and most munificent contributors to its churches and schools, till the surrender of Galway to the Cromwellians in 1652, stripped the old inhabitants of their properties, and obliged them 'to quit the very town they founded themselves, having surrounded it with great walls, and embellished it with churches and stately houses upon their own cost and charges.'"

After this sad event, many of the Lynchs repaired to the Conti-

\* "Galway men were," according to Mr. Hardiman, "formerly noted for their hospitality, which they carried to such excess that the civic authority was often obliged to interfere, in order to check or regulate it. Thus in A.D. 1518, it was enacted, 'that no man of this town shall oste or receive into their houses at Christmas, Easter, nor no feaste elles, any of the Burkes, M<sup>c</sup>Williams, the Kellies, nor no cepte elles, without license of the Mayor and Councill, on payn to forfeit £5: that neither O ne Mac shall strutte ne swaggere thro' the streets of Gallway.'—*Orig. Corp. Book*."

† "The Fovntaine of Ancient Fiction. Done out of Italian into English, by Richard Linche, Gent." 4to., 1599. The author of this bibliographical rarity was probably related to John Lynch, who was appointed Bishop of Elphin in 1584.

ment, where they were well received, and soon distinguished themselves. Shortly after this period we find Richard Lynch, Professor of Divinity in the University of Salamanca, Stephen Lynch, Guardian of the Irish Franciscan Convent at Rome, Dominick Lynch, Regent of the College of St. Thomas of Aquin, in the city of Seville, Nicholas Lynch, "well known throughout Spain, France, and in Rome, for his rare qualities and talents, Provincial of his order in Ireland, and Vicar-general Apostolick of Scotland." Another of the same family served in Italy under Philip IV. "in quality of Major-general, where he gained such credit and fame that he got the title of Generalissimo." Several of the Lynchs were officers in the Irish Brigades in the service of France, and Chevaliers of the "Royal and Military Order of St. Louis:" one of the most distinguished of those was Le Sieur Dominique Lynch, Lieutenant-colonel of the famous regiment of Lally. He accompanied the Stuarts on their expeditions to England and Scotland, and fell in 1747, at the bloody battle of Lafeldt. John Lynch, "maire honoraire" of Bordeaux, and Peer of France, was the first who, in 1814, declared for the restoration of the Bourbons. Casting off his tri-color scarf and the cross of the Legion of Honor, he assumed the white cockade, and caused the gates of the old capital of the Plantagenet sovereigns of France to be opened to the Allies. Just twenty years and one month from the fearful day on which another Irish exile, the Abbé Edgeworth, undaunted by the threats of a sanguinary mob, had stood on the scaffold by the side of Louis XVI.; and, with his inspired eloquence, soothed the last moments of the best and most blameless of the successors of St. Louis.

The name of Lynch has been identified with Irish historical literature, by the labours of the author of "Cambrensis Eversus," and by the works of the late William Lynch, who possessed an unrivalled knowledge of the Anglo-Norman manuscript records of his country.

The object of the "*Miscellany*" of the Society, is, we are informed, "to preserve such smaller documents illustrative of the history and antiquities of Ireland, as from their size are unfitted for separate publication, and all who are interested in historical pursuits are invited to contribute to the future volumes of this work." We

hope to see these views fully appreciated, and trust that persons possessing old documents of any importance, will see the propriety of communicating them to the Irish Archæological Society.

The Irish, and most complete known version of the "History of the Britons,"\* attributed to the apocryphal Nennius, the original of which is supposed to have been written early in the ninth century, is a work of great importance in elucidating the history of the early inhabitants of the British isles. The several original documents appended, on the early Scotie monarchs, and on the history of the *Cruithnians*, or Picts, render the Society's edition extremely valuable in illustrating the bardic sources of Irish and British history; with which abstruse inquiries the editors have, by their illustrations, evidenced their familiarity. The Hon. Algernon Herbert has displayed much mediæval learning and ingenious conjecture in the supplemental essays on the various early migrations to Ireland and Britain. There is, however, no foundation for his scepticism relative to the early foreign expeditions of Dathi, the last pagan monarch of Ireland, as Mr. O'Callaghan, in his notes to the "*Destruction of Cyprus*," has since shown that the old Irish accounts are confirmed by the Piedmontese traditions, and by documents preserved among the archives of the illustrious house of De Sales. This statement has been further authenticated by Mr. Curry's recent discovery of a very ancient Celtic manuscript, which gives a detailed account of the various military excursions of "the son of Fiachra."

That an Irish scholar should, in the eleventh century, have translated the Latin work of Nennius, will not appear strange, when we recollect that there is extant an Irish version, as old as the eighth century, of a history of the wars of Alexander the Great, translated from a classic original, now unknown. We also possess Irish translations of the Italian writings of Marco Polo,† the early Vene-

\* *Leabhar Breathnach Annso Sis. The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D., M.R.I.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, &c. The Introduction and Additional Notes, by the Hon. Algernon Herbert. Dublin: printed for the Irish Archæological Society. 1848.*

† The translation of Polo's works is one of the most classical specimens of the old Irish language. Among the translations of foreign romances, made not later than the first half of the fifteenth century, is "*Cathreim Shearluis Mhoir*," being an Irish version of the famous "*Historia Caroli Magni et*

tian traveller, and of many of the most celebrated foreign romances of chivalry; made at a period when Ireland was, according to ignorant writers, wrapped in the darkest barbarism.

The publication of the Irish Nennius demonstrates a fact, hitherto overlooked, that the ancient Irish manuscripts contain much import-

Rolandi," ascribed to Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims, and styled ironically by Boiardo, "*la vera historia di Turpin.*" From it Pulci evidently borrowed the conclusion of his "*Morgante Maggiore,*" although Crescimbeni will not admit the fact. Ariosto quotes "*Turpino*" for some of the wildest tales introduced in the "*Orlando Furioso.*" many of which are not to be found in the Continental originals. A collation of the version in the "*Book of Lismore*" might show that it, having been made from an ancient copy, contains the fictions which "*Messer Lodovico*" is supposed to have invented. Ariosto, however, little knew that "*l'ultima Irlanda*" was acquainted with the mighty deeds of

"Los doce Pares de Francia  
Que a una mesa comen pan,"

when he introduced "*Oberto,*" King of Ireland, and the "*Earl of Kildare,*" into his poem, which has immortalized

"Le donne, i cavalier, l'arme, gli amori,  
Le cortesie, l'audaci imprese—  
Che furo al tempo che passaro i Mori  
D'Africa il mare."——

We have also an Irish version of the celebrated romance of "*Guy de Warwick, Chevalier d'Angleterre et de la belle fille Felix (Felix) samie.*" This occupies forty-eight pages of a folio MS. of the 15th century, in the library of the University of Dublin, and is probably identical with the very old metrical history on the same subject, of which a fragment is preserved among the Harleian MSS. The same Irish compilation contains a portion of the life and adventures of Sir Guy (Bevys) of Hampton, and his fair bride, the daughter of the King of Scotland; her elopement with the young Emperor of Austria, and subsequent adventures; this, having been mutilated, extends only to sixteen folio pages.

There is a very ancient and elegant Irish version, in the "*Book of Lismore,*" of the "*History of the Lombards,*" by Paulus of Friuli, or Waranfridus; much of which he derived from the work, now lost, of Secundinus Tridentinus. This version was probably the result of the communication of the Irish with Lombardy; which commenced by the foundation of the monastery at Bobbio by St. Columbanus, in the seventh century, that institution, according to Tiraboschi, had, during the middle ages, one of the largest and most valuable libraries in Europe. It is curious to find a body of Irish Jacobite exiles achieving one of the most brilliant and heroic actions in the annals of war, in defence of the town of Cremona, in Lombardy, upwards of 1000 years after the foundation of the great Lombard monastery by their countryman Columbanus.

The Psalter of Colum-Cille, written in the sixth century; the Four Gospels of Dimma, and the "*Book of Armagh,*" are national muniments, of which, says a late English writer, "all Irishmen may be justly proud—nay, exultingly produce, as evidences of the civilization and literary acquirements of their country, at an age when other nations of Europe, if



ant matter relative to the early and traditional history of England and Scotland.

The Latin annals of Ireland, written by Friar John Clyn, of the Franciscan Convent of Kilkenny, relate principally to the affairs of the country, from the descent of Edward Bruce, in 1315, to the

not in utter ignorance and barbarism, were in their primers—their very horn-books.”

Of the “*Book of Armagh*,” now deposited by its owner in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and supposed by St. Bernard to have belonged to St. Patrick, but assigned to the seventh century by Dr. Petrie, the same English writer tells us, that it “contains evidence of learning beyond even the most sanguine hopes and expectations of the most patriotic Irishman. It exhibits an acquaintance with the *Greek*, as well as the *Latin* tongue; and more, in it will be found evidence to convince the most sceptical, that Ireland, in the seventh century, was a cultivated and civilized country, and had been so for centuries; that Christianity had long before enlightened her people, and that not in isolated or individual cases, where its professors shrunk from its avowal—not here and there in a monastery on the coast, or in fortified places, surrounded by Paganism and persecution, like an oasis in the desert; no, Ireland was then, and long had been, a Christian nation, governed by wholesome laws, which protected the lives and properties of its inhabitants, and respected and shielded the stranger.”

In the Bodleian Library is an Irish commentary on the Pandect or “*Bibliotheca*” of St. Jerome, made in the eighth century by the Abbot O’Huathghaile, surnamed, from his extensive erudition, *Dubhlitir*, or the “black-lettered.” The library of Carlsruhe possesses an Irish copy of Priscian’s Grammar, written in the ninth century, and of which a fac-simile may be seen in the “*Palæographie*” of Silvestre and Champollion. It is much to be regretted that the editors of this gorgeous publication should have fallen into the serious errors, relative to ancient Irish MSS., noticed at page 38. According to the learned Ludewig, the oldest manuscript in Germany is a copy of the Four Gospels, in the autograph of St. Kilian, the Irish Apostle of Franconia, who was martyred in 678. This manuscript, which Eckhart tells us is as old as the famous “*Pandectes de Florence*,” is said to have been used by the Irish Saint, and his companions, when the sacred mysteries were celebrated for the first time in Franconia. It is still annually exposed in the Cathedral of Wirtzburg, for the veneration of the faithful. Having been found in St. Kilian’s tomb, A.D. 743, its last leaves are stained with the blood of the holy man, who was chaunting the midnight service from it, when he was murdered by the hireling of the impious Geilana. This Irish Saint is now venerated as the Patron of Franconia.

In the “*Book of Leinster*,” a MS. of the twelfth century, is preserved a very ancient account of the “*Destruction of Troy*.” This may be a version of the Continental accounts of the “*Siege of Troy*,” founded on the apocryphal authority of Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis, but it cannot certainly have any connection with the celebrated “*Historia de Bello Trojan*,” compiled by Guido de Colonna, of Messina. Warton’s assertion, that the Greek language was unknown in Europe from the fourth to the fourteenth century, is disproved, as far as Ireland is concerned, by the contents of the “*Book of Armagh*.” “*Cormac’s Glossary*,” written in the ninth century, contains evidence of its Royal compiler’s knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues. We know that Columbanus, Joannes Scotus Eri-

year 1349, when the author\* is supposed to have fallen a victim to that dreadful pestilence, known as the "Black Death,"† which devastated Europe in the fourteenth century, and committed fearful ravages in Kilkenny, of which Clyn gives a vivid picture. "During the times contained in these annals," says the accomplished editor,

gena, and Cummian, acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek language in the Irish schools. A curious branch of inquiry is connected with the communication between Greece and Ireland in the middle ages: for Ussher tells us, that when the Irish Firghal, or Virgilius, the first discoverer of the Antipodes, left Ireland, he was accompanied by a Grecian Bishop; and we also hear of a Greek Church at Trim, in the County of Meath.

The "*Leabhar Breac*," or "Speckled Book," a MS. of remote antiquity, contains a romantic account of "*Toruidheact na Croiche Naomhe*," or the "Search for the Holy Cross;" probably of a similar nature to the celebrated "*Queste du Saint Greal*."

The old Irish MSS. contain similar translations from foreign and classical authors, in addition to the few we have mentioned, the examination of which, by competent scholars, would throw much light on the state of European learning in the dark ages. It must, however, be recollected that, as noticed at page 22, the Irish had, in addition to the foreign romances, a school of fiction peculiar to themselves.

\* *The Annals of Ireland. By Friar John Clyn, of the Convent of Friars Minors, Kilkenny; and Thady Dowling, Chancellor of Leighlin. Together with the Annals of Ross. Edited, from Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with Introductory Remarks, by the Very Rev. Richard Butler, A.B., M.R.I.A., Dean of Clonmacnois.* Dublin: printed for the Irish Archæological Society. 1849.

† The "Black Death," above-mentioned, also carried off the celebrated "Laura" of Petrarca: it has been admirably described by I. F. C. Hecker, Professor at Frederick William's University at Berlin, in his work entitled "*Schwarze Tod*." We are also indebted to him for his other two treatises on the "*Tanzwuth*," or "Dancing Mania," and the "*Englische Schweiss*," or "Sweating Sickness:" the most important contributions ever made to historical pathology. With the exception of Dr. Wilde's valuable Nosological Report, appended to the Census of Ireland for the year 1841, and the same author's interesting "Memoirs of eminent Irish physicians," and "Essays on Irish medical superstitions," no attempt has hitherto been made to compile a history of medicine in Ireland. Although considerable materials exist for such a work, it appears, as Hecker observed on a similar subject, in his "Address to the Physicians of Germany," "an unexplored department which many suppose to be a barren desert, because no one to whose voice they are wont to listen, gives any information respecting it." Without ascending to the semi-fabulous ages of our history, in which many notices of physicians are to be found, we may observe that in the curious account of Tara written, according to Dr. Petrie, about the middle of the sixth century, we find special mention of physicians, who are there designated "a sage company." The Brehon laws contain several enactments relative to the same class; and Mac Firbis tells us, that the Irish historians have left written accounts of their *Leagha* or physicians of former times. Among the numerous ancient medical MSS. written in the Irish language, which have come down to us, the following deserve mention: "The Lily of Irish Medicine," compiled by the O'Hickeys, physicians to the O'Briens of

“the English Government had not power to control the excesses of its subjects, or to repress the attacks of its opponents. The great Anglo-Irish families had become septs. In Clyn’s Latin, the St. Aubins, now corrupted into Tobyns, and the Archdeacons, now transformed into the patronymic Mac Odos, or Codys, are ‘*naciones*

Thomond. This work was completed in 1302, and it may be interesting to add, that a copy of it was purchased in 1501 for twenty cows by the Earl of Desmond. This copy is now in the British Museum, and a MS. note states, that the compiler had spent twenty years in studying at Montpellier, and the other chief Schools of Medicine. In the Academy’s collection is an Irish medical treatise written in 1352, in which the Arabian physicians and the works of Galen and Hippocrates are frequently quoted, and passages from them translated. This fact, given on the unquestionable authority of Mr. Curry, is of importance, as it demonstrates that the writings of these two authors were well known in Ireland in the fourteenth century. According to Sprengel, Nicolas Leonicens, Professor at Ferrara about 1470, was the first translator of Galen from the Greek, and we know that the first complete printed edition was that of Aldus in 1525. All the works of Hippocrates were not published till 1526, although Thomas Linacre, founder of the English College of Physicians, and the friend of More and of Erasmus, had published at Cambridge in 1521, Galen’s treatise “*De Temperamentis*.” The earliest English edition of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates was that of Lloyd, 16mo. 1585; and Hallam represents the middle of the sixteenth century as the period of the restoration of the Hippocratic system of practice. In 1466, Donogh O’Bolgaigh completed the compilation of a large medical MS. of nearly 500 pages: this book, now in the possession of Mr. Mac Adam of Belfast, contains treatises on the medicinal virtues of herbs and minerals, and on the various diseases of the human frame. In the Academy’s Collection, is a series of Irish tracts consisting of original essays on medicine, and compilations from, and dissertations on, the ancient medical writers of Europe and the East. This series, ascribed to the early part of the fifteenth century, is, according to Dr. Wilde, “one of the most remarkable collections of symptomatology of its age, in any language: and its observations are particularly copious on *short fevers*, which there can be little doubt existed in this country from a very early date. It likewise treats of the diseases of females, and concludes with several valuable and original medical aphorisms.” “The Book of the Island of O’Brazil,” compiled by the O’Lees, hereditary physicians to the O’Flahertys of West Connacht, and now in the Academy’s Library, speaks of putrid fevers, abscesses, and pustules, wounds, hydrophobia, poisons, affections of the brain and spinal marrow, and diseases of the eye, stomach, &c., and is in fact a complete system of medicine. We shall close our present notice of the ancient Irish medical manuscripts, with mentioning the “Book of the O’Sheils,” hereditary physicians to the Mac Coghlans of Delvin, and the Mac Mahons of Oriel. It is a system of medicine somewhat similar to, but far more extensive than, the “Book of O’Brazil,” and it afforded many of the Irish names used in the valuable Nosological Report before referred to.

A Latin writer, of the sixteenth century, speaks of the very ancient and smoky-looking parchments which the Irish physicians were in the habit of consulting, and the author of a work published in Portugal in the early part of the seventeenth century, mentions the skill of the “*Medici Hibernici*.”

That the scientific knowledge of the ancient Irish was not confined to

*et cognomina;*’ and he speaks of the Hoddinets and Cantetous, ‘*cum multis de sanguine eorum.*’ If the Irish chiefs acknowledged no common authority, and felt no common interest, the same division prevailed among the lords of English descent. Englishman was now opposed to Englishman, and sought to revenge himself by the help of the Irish; nor did the English refuse their aid to the Irish, when plundering their own countrymen. When Brien O’Brien ravaged Ossory, and slew the loyal English of Aghaboe and Aghmacart, he had the help of the English of Ely. Such was the political and social state of Ireland, during the earlier part of the fourteenth century, as represented in these annals, and such, with little alteration, it continued to be for several generations. Whatever were the faults of the several parties, in this long and bitter struggle—and no doubt all parties had great and grievous faults,—they were the faults rather of the times than of the men. At all events, it little becomes any Irishman of the present day to reproach their memories. He can scarcely do so without reproaching the memory of his own ancestors. There are few living Irishmen, whatever be their names, whether Celtic or Norman, in whose veins does not run the mingled blood of Norman and of Celt, or rather of Irishmen and Englishmen. Nor can the descendants of those good knights who stood with Edward III. in the trenches of Calais, or of those hardy squires who overthrew the victors at Bannockburn, be unwilling to claim kindred with the descendants of the Irish chiefs, whose names were in the songs of the poet and the legends of the saint, when the names of Normandy and of Norman were unknown.”

The “*Annales Breves Hiberniæ*,” by Thady Dowling, Chancellor of Leighlin, extend from the semi-fabulous times to the year 1600. “It is evident,” says our authority, “that the compiler of these An-

medicine is evident from the number of translations of foreign authors preserved in the MS. collections. Among those, we may notice an Irish treatise on Geography, written about A.D. 800, at Cloyne, now in the possession of the University of Dublin, an Irish poem on astronomy, written in the early part of the thirteenth century, now in the library of St. John’s College, Cambridge; and a system of astronomy in the Irish language, of the fourteenth century, beautifully written and accompanied by diagrams, and now in our Academy’s Collection. Mr. I. O. Halliwell, the eminent English literary antiquary, tells us, that the Arabic numerals, usually, though erroneously, ascribed to Roger Bacon, were well known and understood in Ireland at the commencement of the fourteenth century.

nals had access to no contemptible library of printed books. Giraldus Cambrensis, Powel's Caradoc of Llancarvan, and probably that learned Welshman's other works on British history, Lanquet's Chronicle, continued by Bishop Cooper, Sir J. Eliot, Stowe, and Holinshed, form a library for which many a modern clerical student of Irish history would envy Queen Elizabeth's Chancellor of Leighlin. Yet, in Dowling's days the old cathedral town of St. Lazerian, looking from its sheltered glen and bright stream, across the rich plain of the Barrow, to the blue and undulating outline of Mount Leinster, beautiful as it ever must have been to the eye of the painter, was a place ill-fitted for quiet study and learned research. The neighbouring monastery of the Carmelites, at the bridge, had been converted into a royal garrison, and the goodly Barrow, as it flowed under its walls, reflected, not cowls and friars' frocks, but matchlocks and iron skull-caps. In this transmuted monastery, in the beginning of the reign of Edward VI., Sir Edward Bellingham, Lord Deputy, kept a stall of twenty or thirty horse; and it was from this house that he rode into Munster, to the house of the Earl of Desmond, when being unlooked for and unthought of, he found the earl sitting at his Christmas fire, and took him and carried him away with him to Dublin. Some years later, and in the time of Dowling, Leighlin was the residence of one of these bold and accomplished soldiers, at once worldly and romantic, who gave strength and glory to the throne of Queen Elizabeth. Here came Sir Peter Carew, who, having been in his youth, as recorded by his faithful steward, at Constantinople in the Turk's court, at Vienna in the Emperor's palace, at Venice, and in the French king's court, and in the houses of most of all Christian princes, in every of which places he left some token of his value, settled down at Leighlin, in his ripe manhood, determined to preserve, by policy and the strong hand, the great Irish inheritance which he claimed by descent, and had obtained by law. Here he kept continually, and here he needed to keep, in his own private family, 100 persons, and had always in readiness 100 horsemen, well appointed, besides footmen, and 100 kerns; here his cellar door was never shut, and his buttery always open to all comers of any credit. Those days, however, of military strength and of proud hospitality, worthy of Branksome Hall, soon

passed away; and when the worthy knight, old Sir Peter, died at Ross, his cousin and heir, young Sir Peter, was unable to defend his inheritance." The annalist gives many details of the vigorous efforts made by the natives to expel the intrusive English knight, whose title-deeds are proved, by modern researches, to have been shameless forgeries; and this contest, which, Dowling tells us, was maintained by the Irish with the pertinacity of demons, is known as "the wars of Sir Peter Carew." Although the entries in these annals are concise, they contain many anecdotes and curious traits of the contemporaries of the author, who survived till 1628.

To render the Society's collection of Latin annals as complete as possible, the "Annals of Ireland, from the Book of Ross," are given in the Appendix, and extend from 1265 to 1480.

This valuable volume of annals well merits the title of "*editio variorum*." In addition to the notes and admirable introductions of the editor, Dr. John O'Donovan has illustrated the Celtic and topographical portions: the Hon. A. Herbert has supplied commentaries on the passages connected with early British history and mediæval Continental learning; while the Rev. James Graves and his erudite *collaborateur*, J. G. Prim, Esq., have contributed a vast amount of interesting local and historical matter relative to Kilkenny, so often referred to by these annalists. That ancient town owes much to those learned gentlemen for their successful efforts to preserve its ancient historical remains, and to awake a taste for learning and research among the more enlightened portion of its citizens.

We would wish to see the Committee of the Society henceforth fully carry out the plan they have already partially adopted, of committing to various editors the task of annotating such portions of the Society's publications as their previous studies had rendered them most conversant with.

The author of the "*Macariæ Excidium*,"\* a lineal descendant of the powerful and wealthy clan from whom, in ancient times, a great

\* *Macariæ Excidium, or the Destruction of Cyprus; being a Secret History of the War of the Revolution in Ireland, by Colonel Charles O'Kelly, of Skryne, or Aughrane, now Castle Kelly, County Galway. Edited, from four English Copies and a Latin Manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy, with Notes, Illustrations, and a Memoir of the Author and his Descendants, by John Cornelius O'Callaghan.* Dublin; for the I.A.S. 1850.

part of Connacht took the name of "O'Kelly's country," was born at the Castle of Screen, or Aughrane, in 1621. After studying, with reputation, at the College of St. Omer, he returned to Ireland in 1642, to assist his countrymen in their struggle against the Puritans. In this contest, Colonel Charles O'Kelly displayed a gallantry worthy of his ancestry; and when the Confederates, by their own religious dissensions,\* were obliged to succumb, he, with two thousand Irish soldiers, embarked for the Continent, where, placing themselves at the disposal of Charles II. and his brother, the Duke of York, they rendered the royal fugitives of considerable importance. Independently of which the Irish military contributed largely

\* It cannot be doubted, that but for the element of religious discord, introduced by the Pope's Legate, the Irish Confederates would have effectually baffled all the efforts of Cromwell, and have thus saved Ireland from the fearful consequences which were entailed by his success. Nearly all the Catholic nobility and men of property and reputation in the country were totally opposed to the proceedings of Rinuccini and his irrational adherents. In endeavouring to divert the latter from their ruinous course, Colonel Walter Bagnal, a young man who, says the contemporary writer, "to the nobleness of his birth and the plentifulness of his fortune, had added a great stock of valour, and many excellent parts," addressed the Ultramontane clergy in the following pathetic terms:—

"My Lords, there was a time, when our ancestors, at the peril of their fortunes, and with the danger of their persons, sheltered some of you and your predecessors from the severity of the laws. They were no niggardly sharers with you in your wants; and it cannot be said that the splendour of your present condition hath added anything to the sincere and filial reverence which was then paid you. We their posterity, have with our blood and the expence of our substance, asserted this advantage you have over them, and redeemed the exercise of your function from the penalties of the law, and your persons from the persecution to which they were subject. We are upon the brink of a formidable precipice, reach forth your hand to pull us back; your zeal for the house of God will be thought no way the less fervent, that you preserve the Irish nation; and your judgments will not suffer from the attempt, when you give over upon better information. Rescue us, we beseech you, from those imminent miseries that environ us visibly; grant somewhat to the memory of our forefathers, and to the affection we bear you ourselves, let this request, find favour with you, made to prevent the violation of publick faith, and to keep the devouring sword from the throats of our wives and our children."

All appeals were, however, in vain; the foreign-influenced clergy persisted in their headlong course. In a short time after the delivery of this speech, the whole of Ireland was in the possession of the regicides; and Colonel Bagnal, having fallen into their hands, was tried by court-martial, and shot.

It must still be recollected, that there was an illustrious minority of the most learned and high-born of the clergy, who resisted and disapproved of the proceedings of the Ultramontanists. Among these courageous men, will be found names which will be for ever dear to the lovers of our

from their pay to the support of the king and his family, for which many of them were afterwards rewarded by having their patrimonies and the estates of their ancestors confirmed to the former supporters of the Cromwellian government. On the "Restoration," Colonel O'Kelly returned to Ireland, where he resided until the commencement of the wars of James II., when this well-tried veteran, then in his sixty-eighth year, was again called on to fill posts of honor and importance, in all of which he displayed his loyalty and inalienable attachment to the royal or national cause.

After the Treaty of Limerick, the completion of which, foreseeing

country's literature, and a few whom it is but just to mention here—the venerable David Roth, Bishop of Ossory, author of the "Analecta," whom even his furious opponent, Ryves, admitted to be "nec indoctus, nec infacundus," and who is styled, in the secret instruction to the Legate from Rome, "personaggio egregio e prudente." Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Kilalla, whose life was written and published as a model for the Irish clergy. Dr. John Lynch, author of "Cambrensis Eversus," one of the most exalted characters of his time. The profoundly learned Thomas Dease, Bishop of Meath and Doctor of the Sorbonne. Dr. Callaghan, the elegant author of the "Vindiciæ Catholicorum Hiberniæ," and a Doctor of the Faculty of Paris. This learned man, allied by blood to the nobles of the land, a relative of the brave Colonel Callaghan O'Callaghan, one of the most distinguished officers in the Confederate army, and of whose name there were upwards of 500 gentlemen in arms at the time, for the royal cause, was presented to the Bishopric of Cork by the Supreme Council. The Pope's Legate effectually opposed his promotion, because the Doctor was intimate with the Marquis of Ormonde, the King's Lord Lieutenant, although, in his private letters to Cardinal Panfilio, he admitted, that Dr. Callaghan was "uomo veramente di retti costumi." This "honest" Doctor was highly esteemed by Queen Henrietta Maria, and the royal family. Dr. Seathruin or Geoffrey Keating, author of the celebrated "*Forus Féasa air Erin*," or Chronicles of Ireland, and of the well-known devout treatise, "*Eochair sgiaith an Aifrionn*," or the "Key to the Shield of the Mass," has left several Irish writings, condemning the proceedings of the foreign-influenced clergy. Dr. Redmond Caron, a divine in high estimation abroad, and whose "Remonstrantia Hibernorum contra Ultramontanas Censuras" has been reprinted in the "Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ."

The whole Order of the Jesuits, we are told, were of this rational minority, and "were, every one, for the peace of the nation, and return of the people to their due obedience to His Majesty." They appear to have attached no serious importance to the excommunication fulminated against them by the foreign ecclesiastic, who, according to their late reverend historian, borrowed, and never repaid, the greater part of the funds of their Order, by which, adds our authority, the brotherhood was seriously injured.

"Les censures du Nonce (Rinuccini)" says a French writer, in 1651, "ayant armé les Catholiques contre les Catholiques, et ayant par cette guerre intestine, divisé et ruiné leur forces, qui étant unies eussent été invincibles, ont donné beau lieu au Republicains Anglois, également ennemis de la Royauté et de notre religion (Catholique), de se rendre maitres de cette isle infortunée."



its subsequent violation, he strenuously opposed—his motto being, we are told, “Constancy, no capitulation, and confidence in God!”—he retired to his family estate at Aughrane, or “Castle Kelly,” where he died in 1695, leaving behind him two manuscripts, treating of the history of Ireland during his own times.

The first of these works is that published by the Irish Archæological Society, and called “*Macarie Excidium*,” or the “*Destruction of Cyprus*.” The other and more important document, known as “The O’Kelly Memoirs,” was in the possession of the family in France, at the time of the first French revolution, in the troubles of which it is supposed to have been lost. From what can be ascertained of the nature of this work, we learn that it contained a vast amount of private and secret anecdotes and history, relative to the principal actors on the stage of Irish affairs, from 1641 to the days of the writer. It is to be hoped, that by instituting proper inquiries, this manuscript, with many others, equally important on Irish history, and long missing, may yet be recovered and published.

The state of Ireland, at the period of the compilation of Colonel O’Kelly’s work, now under consideration, obliged the author to adopt an allegorical title;\* and, the more effectually to conceal its nature, all the persons mentioned in it are distinguished by semi-classical pseudonyms. Thus, King James is *Amasis*, the Duke of Tyrconnel

\* ΝΗΣΟΣ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ, or the Blessed Island, one of the Greek names of Cyprus, was peculiarly applicable to Ireland, which, in Pagan and early Christian ages, was styled “*Insula Sacra*,” or the Island of Saints.

Without entering on a lengthened examination of the precedents which Colonel O’Kelly might have adduced for the use of pseudonyms in political writings, we may refer to the “*Gargantua and Pantagruel*” of Rabelais, supposed to contain a covert satire on the French court; the “*Argenis*,” of John Barclay, published in 1622, on the wars of the League; *Meliander* representing Henry III., *Lycogenes* the family of Guise, and *Argenis* the succession of the crown. This book, the favourite of Richelieu and of William Cowper, has been ridiculed for its pedantry by the witty Padre d’Isla, in his amusing history of “*Fra Gerundio de Campazas*,” “*Dodona’s Grove*,” by James Howell, is a clumsy allegory on the times of Charles I. “*Le Grand Cyrus*” of Mademoiselle de Scuderi, represents the principal persons of the Hôtel Rambouillet, under the garbs of Persians and Babylonians, and was so fashionable in its day, that the eloquent Flechier, in his sermon at the funeral of Julie d’Angennes, spoke of her as “*l’incomparable Artenice*.”

These works, and many other of the same nature, not necessary to introduce here, are now only regarded as the curiosities of literature; while the “*Absalom and Achitophel*” of “glorious” John Dryden, published in 1681, will probably live as long as the English language.

*Coridon*, Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, is designated *Lysander*; and the writer himself is veiled under the mystic name of *Philotas*.

This system was, no doubt, rendered agreeable to an author of O'Kelly's time, from its similarity to the custom observed by the fashionable Continental satirists, and other chroniclers of the gallantries and intrigues of the nobility. The "*Destruction of Cyprus*" contains a narrative of the civil and military affairs of the kingdom of Ireland, from the landing of James II., in 1689, to the embarkation of the Irish military for France, in 1691, generally known as "the Flight of the Wild Geese." The writer occasionally furnishes us with anecdotes and personal sketches of the principal characters of those times, and takes no pains to conceal his objections, as a partizan of the old Irish, to the proceedings of the Duke of Tyrconnell, one of the most remarkable men of his day, admirably calculated for the difficult position in which he was placed, and whom even his opponents admitted to be a generous and gallant enemy, who, in the worst and most threatening times, never swerved from his allegiance to his King or his country. The principal value of O'Kelly's book is the view it gives us of the state of feeling among the Irish Jacobites, which has never yet been sufficiently illustrated, as, until the discovery of the "*Destruction of Cyprus*," no document of the kind was known to exist—a most serious loss to the historian, and the want of which cannot be ascribed to the deficiency of contemporary Jacobite authors capable of producing such a work, when we recollect that writers so accomplished as Anthony Hamilton\* and Dr. Michael Moor were to be found among the Irish adherents of King James.

\* Author of the inimitable "*Mémoires de Gramont*." It is amusing to observe the errors into which English writers have fallen in their accounts of this celebrated man. They were not even aware that he served in the Irish army as Major-General and Colonel of Infantry, under Lord Mountcashel. Dr. Michael Moor was a learned Roman Catholic priest, appointed Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, by James II., whom he followed into France, where he was consulted by Louis XIV., relative to the restoring and remodelling the University of Paris. Moor established a chair for experimental philosophy; and it was principally on his account, that the king founded the royal college called "*Collège de Cambray*." His pupils became the most celebrated in Europe; he could number amongst them Boileau, Fontenelle, Montesquieu, Fleury, Languet, Porée, and, with many others, the celebrated historian Rollin, his immediate successor. It was highly creditable to the heads of the University of Dublin, that they conferred a pension on some of Moor's relations, in acknowledgment of his services in preserving the College library during the wars of King James.

In consequence of this deficiency of Jacobite printed documents, the history of the Irish wars of the Revolution has been hitherto drawn entirely from the works of writers, whose dependency on the government, established on the ruin of the partizans of King James, effectually prevented them giving us an account displeasing or unpalatable to their paymasters. Hence the publications of Story, King, Harris, and of others of that character, must be classed with the licensed pamphlets, "printed by authority," and with the distorted accounts given in the official gazettes, which, having been copied into the Continental periodicals,\* have since passed current for history. It was thus, that the acute and suspicious Voltaire was led to express his surprise that the Irish, of whose brilliant military exploits abroad, in his time, "all Europe rang from side to side," should have "always fought badly at home."

The official and public destruction† of all accessible Jacobite documents, and the rigid and inquisitorial censorship of the press, maintained under successive governments, effectually prevented the public confutation of "ascendancy" calumnies, however gross. The

\* The League of Augsburg, it may be remarked, united all the powers of Europe against Louis XIV. and James II. Hence the exaggerated accounts of the success of the allied army against the Irish were received with as much avidity by its Continental partizans, as was the false report of the death of William III. by the Parisians. The Irish gained nothing by their alliance with "le grand Monarque," as shown in note at page 54, except the enmity of all Europe.

With respect to the falsehoods circulated in the "London Gazette," we may adduce the following instance:—The account published in that paper, stating the loss at the first siege of Limerick, and purporting to be written from the camp there, says, "What men we lost in these actions we cannot precisely say; but it's thought we have had about four or five hundred killed and wounded since the beginning of the siege"—that is, from the 9th to the 28th of August. Mr. O'Callaghan has, however, shown from original Williamite documents, that the loss of the foreigners at the last assault of the town, which lasted but a few hours, and which was so gallantly repulsed by the Irish, amounted to the number, in killed and wounded, of two thousand one hundred and forty-eight!

† All the Jacobite documents which the government could collect were publicly burned in Dublin, in the year 1695. So effectually was the destruction of such papers pursued, that no copy of King James's Gazette has yet been discovered. Mr. O'Callaghan, after a diligent and lengthened search, was able to obtain but a single copy of the only known printed Jacobite account of the earlier portion of the war. Towards the close of the last century, a large collection of original letters, written during the times of King James, was destroyed, on the occasion of the burning of a house in Armagh by the hirelings of the government of *that* day.

works of the Rev. Charles Leslie,\* and of the Rev. John Mackenzie, in reply to the statements of Archbishop King, and the Rev. Colonel George Walker, of Derry, have exposed such an amount of flagrant mendacity and falsehood in those ecclesiastical dignitaries, that we are at a loss to compute the extent to which party spirit may influence laymen, when those whose divine mission is to propagate truth, are to be found, for worldly considerations, outraging one of the most sacred precepts of the Gospel. So agreeable, however, is the "Romance of History," that the publications of Drs. King and Walker have gone through innumerable editions; while the books of the honest Nonjuring and Presbyterian clergymen, having been suppressed, as far as possible, are scarcely ever to be met with.

These incontrovertible historic facts explain the reasons why a war, which cost Britain eighteen millions, laying the foundation of her national debt, and which lasted half as long as the great Peninsular campaigns, having been only brought to a conclusion by granting the Irish their own terms, has, hitherto, been represented as a glorious contest, in which a handful of English and Anglo-Irish, by a continued series of the most heroic achievements, signally defeated an immense number of Irish and French troops, most liberally paid, and furnished with every necessary, by Louis XIV.†

\* This writer, in the preface to his work, explains the difficulty he experienced in getting it through the press. The printer was afraid to put his name to it, and the copies were seized in all directions. With regard to the veracity of the Rev. Charles Leslie, Horne, the celebrated biblical critic, tells us, that "a clergyman's library should not be without this author's theological works. He is said to have brought more persons from other persuasions into the Church of England than any man did." Doctor Johnson observed, "Leslie was a reasoner, and a reasoner who was not to be reasoned against."

Dr. William King, Leslie's opponent, was appointed by letters patent Bishop of Derry, in 1691; and further presented in 1702 to the See of Dublin. George Story, author of the "*Impartial History*" of the Irish Wars, obtained the Deanery of Limerick.—Walter Harris, the third of these *historians*, received a pension from the government of the day.

† A general historical error prevails, that the French troops performed the principal part in these Irish campaigns. It is time to correct this mistake. We have the best authority, that "all the succours which came from France were but in exchange for the like number of the best Irish troops sent over under Lord Mountcashel. The arms the French Minister gave were so bad that they did little service; and the cloaths he sent so scanty, and so coarse, that many of the Irish regiments preferred their old ragged ones before them." These Frenchmen were present at the Boyne; but took no part in that affair, hitherto so much misrepresented. After that event, they

Such statements are, however, completely disproved by the original documents, which show that, throughout those campaigns, the Irish army was, in every instance, numerically inferior to that of their opponents, which consisted of the flower of the troops of the twelve most warlike European nations, commanded by the renowned masters of the military science, lavishly paid, and abundantly supplied with all the *matériel* for war; while the Irish were raw and undisciplined, badly clothed, badly armed, almost without artillery, and the exchequer of King James was only able to afford the pay of one penny a day to his private soldiers.\* Owing to the enmity

marched to Limerick, which, before the first siege, they quitted for Galway, whence they returned home, without having performed any service. It is true that the Irish were commanded at Aughrim by a French general—St. Ruth; but he brought neither men nor money with him. Owing to the League of Augsburg, as stated at page 53, the Irish, during these campaigns, had to contend single-handed against troops from all the nations of Europe, except those of France, whose assistance, we have shown, was useless; and accordingly, throughout this war, the Jacobite documents always speak of the Irish as being opposed to the forces of “the Allies.”

From an official document, given by the editor from the State Paper Office, drawn up in 1690, and setting forth the respective complement of soldiers, with the names of regiments, &c., for England, Scotland, Flanders, the West Indies, and Ireland, we find that the proportion for England is specified as 11,343 men; for Scotland, 5,878 men; for Flanders, *against Louis XIV.'s army there*, 11,444 men; for the West Indies, 960 men; *for Ireland*, 35,289 men! Therefore, out of a total of 64,614 Williamite soldiers, it was calculated that, while but 29,325 were to be stationed in England, Scotland, Flanders, and the West Indies altogether, *Ireland alone should have 35,289 men, besides 25,000 Militia!* And opposite this large amount in the original document, the following memorandum is added:—“For which 4,000 recruits of foot, at least, will be necessary, besides those to be made in Ireland!” But this amount of 35,289 soldiers for Ireland was found to be insufficient: for the number of privates belonging to the infantry, horse, and dragoon regiments, of the army of William III., for Ireland in 1691, are in the official list set down at *not less than 40,000 men!* And to these an addition of several thousands must be made for officers, and men and officers, connected with the great train of Williamite artillery, which, as far as we can learn, amounted, with cannon and mortars, to a total from 90 to 100 pieces. Such was the overwhelming force against which the small Irish army so long, and so bravely, contended; and in the words of their gallant countryman, the Chevalier Charles Wogan, they may be truly said “to have buried the synagogue with honor.”

\* “The Irish soldiers during whole winters had existed without any pay, at times on horse flesh, at other times on half a pound of bread per day; had been clothed in rags, bare-headed, and bare-footed; quartered in huts inundated with water, with scarce any covering but the canopy of heaven, benumbed by the cold, diseased by the moisture of a wet climate, and without fuel to preserve animal heat. They had made those sacrifices to their king and country; and when their officers and great men were

of the French Minister Louvois, the supplies and assistance received from France were contemptible. The Irish had thus to stand alone against an overwhelming army, composed of the finest soldiers in the world. We may further observe, for the information of persons who have been taught to consider these campaigns as disgraceful to the memory of the Irish adherents of King James, that some of the best regiments, and even the private guards, of the Prince of Orange, consisted, in great part, of Roman Catholics.

The history of Ireland, at this period, had been so ingeniously falsified, in the published contemporary works, that our most laborious literary antiquaries, who had not hesitated to undertake the illustration of the early and most obscure portion of our annals, refrained from entering on the examination of authorities which, to them, appeared indisputable.

Mr. O'Callaghan, however, conceiving it improbable that the soldiers, whose bravery had won the admiration of Europe, at Marsaglia, Cremona, Luzzara, and Ramillies, should have behaved so ingloriously, as had been represented, at home, when they were in arms for their country and their king, commenced his researches among the Continental and British manuscript repositories; and a portion of the results of his labors appears in the notes to this edition\* of the "*Destruction of Cyprus*."

deserting, true to their colours, and faithful to their engagements, had never swerved from the fidelity they had sworn to; and following the fortunes of their king, they submitted to the sacrifices he required, in exile and adversity. Noble and generous men, taken from the humblest life, you want but an historian to rescue your fame from the calumnies of your conquerors, and to elevate you to a level with the soldiers of the republics of antiquity!"—*Military History of the Irish Nation*. 8vo. Dublin. 1845.

\* The "Camden Society," in 1841, published an edition of the "*Destruction of Cyprus*," in which the notes, by the editor, Mr. T. Crofton Croker, did not exceed thirty pages; while those of Mr. O'Callaghan, in the edition published by the Irish Archaeological Society, occupy upwards of three hundred and fifty pages, in type nearly as small as that used in the present notes. We would gladly have seen him give more copious illustrations, as the value of the critical examination of so minute an investigator can only be appreciated by those students who are conversant with the accounts hitherto received of the same events. Mr. Croker's annotations consist almost entirely of extracts from the notoriously false "*London Gazette*," and other government publications equally mendacious. This demonstrates clearly, that Irish history can only be written and produced properly in Ireland. The day has happily passed when *one-sided* accounts

We there find the most minute and important information on all the controverted points, derived from the unquestionable authority of muster rolls, original government documents, and official despatches; coupled with a critical investigation and profound analyzation of the printed contemporary publications, unincumbered with superfluous comment, and all set forth in a calm and truth-seeking spirit of historical research. The Editor has thus perfectly succeeded in removing from the Irish the stigma of having "always fought badly at home," and has identified his name with the military history of our country.\* In accomplishing this arduous task he must have felt, with Sismondi, that he "should have to beat down many an idol which men have delighted to worship; that he should have to dispel many favorite illusions, neither consulting feelings, nor sparing prejudices. Full well did he know that he should be rarely praised; but an historian has a sterner duty to fulfil than that of pleasing his readers—a far more noble object than success."

The Society's edition of the "*Destruction of Cyprus*" must not, however, be regarded as a history solely of the campaigns of 1689–91. In the "notes and illustrations" will be found profound and lucid essays on the most important portions of our annals;† and

were eagerly received. The spirit of inquiry is abroad, and no historical document will *now* be accepted with confidence, which does not fairly give the authorities on *both sides*. Mr. Croker is an elegant poet, and a charming illustrator of "*Fairy Legends*;" but his edition of Colonel O'Kelly's work has shown that he is totally incompetent for the task of an impartial historical investigator.

\* It is perfectly evident, that the editor of the Archæological Society's edition of the "*Destruction of Cyprus*" has before him the materials for illustrating the affairs of Ireland during the times of James II. The bare collection and examination of such a mass of documents must necessarily have been the labor of many years on the Continent, and in Great Britain and Ireland. We therefore trust that Mr. J. C. O'Callaghan will give us a history of that period, in a narrative form, copiously illustrated with original documents on *both sides* of the question. Such a work, on the last great national and legitimate war in this country, would at once assume a standard position in the Irish historical library, and moreover, form a necessary introduction to the "*History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France*," on which, we understand, he is at present engaged.

† There are many hitherto controverted historical questions finally settled in this edition of the "*Destruction of Cyprus*." Notes 62, 63, 64, 67, and the Appendix, demonstrate that the Irish hierarchy's formal transfer of the Kingdom of Ireland to Henry II. of England, in the Synod of Cashel, A.D. 1172, was the result of a previous correspondence of the native Prelates with the See of Rome; even in an age, when, according to the

there are few, even the most erudite, who will not find satisfaction in consulting this valuable compendium of Irish learning. It, indeed, clearly demonstrates the necessity of placing our history on an entirely new basis, which, to be lasting, must be founded on calm and lengthened investigation, and a thorough examination of original documents.

The appearance of this edition of the "*Destruction of Cyprus*" was extremely opportune, at a time when the history of the period of which it treats was about to be brought before the public, in the brilliant and fascinating pages of Macaulay, who, if he desire to attain to the character of a faithful historian, must carefully study Mr. O'Callaghan's elaborate production. This, for his own sake, we trust he will do; and laying aside all prejudices, treat the Irish with as much impartiality and historic justice as our gallant and honest countryman, Colonel Napier, has exhibited towards the French.

John De Colton,\* an ecclesiastic of importance in his day, was successively Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, Lord Chancellor, Justice, and finally, in 1382, Primate of all Ireland. An excellent illustration of the sacerdotal character of those ages, we find him, at one time enacting stringent ordinances for the regulation of his clergy; and at another period, he is to be seen in arms, at the head of a band of knights, raised at his own expense, defending the limited territories of the Anglo-Normans against the vigorous assaults of the native clans. In 1374, the King, in consideration of

Italian historians, the Popes and subordinate clergy at Rome were beaten and imprisoned, or mutilated and murdered, by the nobles and people of the "eternal city." The authenticity is here clearly proved of the English Pope's Bull, which the late Rev. Dr. Lanigan erroneously stated the editors of the collection of Papal official documents were ashamed to print. Roderic O'Connor, King of Ireland, and the native Princes, who, contrary to all former precedents, were excluded from the Synod at Cashel, did not recognise the attempt there made by the Irish Clergy to place their country in the hands of the King of England. We learn from the letter of the Chiefs of Ireland to Pope John XXII., that the old monarchs of the country "acknowledged no superior in temporal affairs."

\* *Acts of Archbishop Colton in his Metropolitan Visitation of the Diocese of Derry, A.D. MCCCXCVII. ; with a Rental of the See Estates at that time. Edited, from the Original Roll, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Record Closet of Armagh, with an Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. William Reeves, D.D., M.R.I.A.; Bachelor in Medicine of Trinity College, Dublin; Perpetual Curate of Kilconriola, in the Diocese of Connor. Dublin: for the Irish Archæological Society. 1850.*



the losses he had sustained during his military expeditions, granted him the sum of forty pounds sterling. Not too large a remuneration, even taking into account the high value of money at that period, when we recollect that on many occasions he remained in the field for several days. And when Newcastle, in the County of Wicklow, was taken, and burned by the Clan of O'Byrne, although there was no money in the Treasury, De Colton pawned his own goods, and with the cash thereby obtained, he, and Nicholas Sergeaunt, a citizen of Dublin, together with thirty-five of their associates, held the castle for five days, maintaining themselves at their own cost, there being no person at that time who could be prevailed upon to take charge of the fortress. For all which, and because, when he retired from this latter place, he had lost a horse worth twenty marks, which was killed by the enemy, the king commanded that he should receive the gratuity we have mentioned.

Nor were his talents limited to military affairs; for so high an opinion had Richard II. of his diplomatic powers, that he selected him to act as Ambassador to the Court of Rome. After his return, he resigned his See, and died in the year 1404, leaving behind him two works on the distracted state of the Church in his own time. His biographers represent him as a man of the most sweet and affable temper, and bestow lavish praise on his unbounded generosity and hospitality.

An original record of the proceedings of Primate De Colton, on the occasion of his visitation of the diocese of Derry in 1397, was some time since discovered among the archives of the See of Armagh by the Rev. William Reeves. Appreciating the value of this manuscript, in illustrating the state of the Irish Church, in the fourteenth century, and, with a munificence worthy of the Prelate, whose acts it chronicles, he printed the document at his own expense, and presented it to the Members of the Society for the year 1850.

The highest encomium we can pass on the manner in which this book has been edited by the Rev. Dr. Reeves, is to say, that it deserves to be classed with his profound work on "Down, Connor, and Dromore;"\* the most valuable contribution yet made to the

history of the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland. And we trust that our learned ecclesiologist will follow up his labours by the publication of his promised edition of the great work on the Ecclesiastical Taxation of Ireland, A.D. 1306, from the original Exchequer Rolls, preserved in the Carlton Ryde Record Office. The value of such documents is not confined to their use in Church history. The recent works on similar subjects, printed by the Scotch Societies, demonstrate the vast amount of important information to be derived from them for illustrating the progress of civilization, and the various manners and modes of life in former ages.

We have thus essayed to give an account of the works published by the Irish Archæological Society; but, as we before stated, the limits of this paper can only be expected to furnish a brief and compendious view of their invaluable contents. It may, however, serve to indicate where precise and accurate information is to be found on particular portions of Irish history; and if we succeed in awakening a desire for the study of their country's literature amongst those who have hitherto been strangers to it, our object will be fully attained. Still, it must be recollected that the Society's books are not intended to be "*popular*," in the general acceptance of that term; such an idea is incompatible with the production of historic materials. These volumes form the foundation on which the future writer will rear the superstructure of a great national history; and we hope henceforth to see our countrymen contributing to the production of such a work, by assisting in the preservation of the monuments left by their fathers, instead of seconding the efforts of ephemeral and delusive political projectors. Far, however, be it from us to advocate the study of this branch of self-knowledge to the exclusion of any other. But, we would have Irishmen to remember that it was not by the cultivation of the histories and antiquities of distant countries, that the author of "Waverley" raised "Caledonia stern and wild," into the land of tourists, and the favorite resort of Royalty. Nor was it by the study of a foreign literature that the thoughtful-souled Goethe, and the many-gifted Schiller, have made their German fatherland world-famous and illustrious. The mountain hamlet of Arquà, in Lombardy, is not now visited as the

resting place of the Latin epic poet, but as the shrine which contains the relics of the Petrarca,

“ Whos rethorike swete  
Enlumined all Itaille of poetrie.”\*

It was fortunate for the fame of the great Florentine, that the good monks of the monastery, founded by the Irish St. Columbanus, at Bobbio, persuaded him to compose his “*Divina Commedia*,” in the “*lingua volgare*” of his own country—a decision which influenced the fate of Italian literature, and rendered the lover of Beatrice Portinari immortal and revered as one

———“ Who, in times  
Dark and untaught, began with charming verse,  
To tame the rudeness of his native land.”†

The most unprejudiced critics have expressed their conviction, that the Irish melodies of “the sweetest lyrist of our saddest wrongs” will outlive his more elaborate works on distant countries; although the latter are replete with all the graces of the most exquisite poetry, and all the fascinating splendours of Oriental romance.

If we feel a proud satisfaction in contemplating the goodly volumes issued by the Irish Archæological Society, and which must be regarded as so many “*chartæ periturse*,” rescued from almost inevitable decay and oblivion, let the honor be given to those disinterested and enlightened men,‡ who, “unactuated by antiquarian pedantry, and solely instigated by a sincere desire to do their duty in a cause of national interest and importance,” have organized and carried out their noble design of creating and fostering a native Irish literature. Despite almost insurmountable obstacles, and even at a

\* Chaucer; Prologue to the “*Clerkes Tale*.”

† Akenside.

‡ In addition to those mentioned in the text and at page 14, as having aided the national literary cause, the following demand notice:—

George Petrie, V.P.R.I.A., I.L.D., a name beyond all praise. George Alexander Hamilton, M.P. for the University of Dublin, to whose zeal for the promotion of learning and education Irish literature is under numerous obligations. Major Thomas A. Larcom, of the Royal Engineers. His edition of Sir William Petty’s proceedings relative to the first English survey of Ireland will soon be ready for presentation to the members of the Irish Archæological Society. Aquilla Smith, M.D., Treasurer of the same Society, our most learned Irish numismatist, and author of several valuable essays published by the Royal Irish Academy. Evelyn P. Shirley,

time when our country was nearly reduced to the fearful state in which it was, when the historian of Elizabeth tells us, that, by the evil policy of bad ministers, "little was left in Ireland for Her Majesty to reign over but ashes and carcasses," and when "the southern province seemed totally depopulated, and, except within the cities, exhibited a hideous scene of famine and desolation."

It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the good which, in a country circumstanced like Ireland, is to be derived from historical research. Truth, we know, is powerful at all times, whilst its perversion is ever attended with the most disastrous consequences. The falsification of history has hitherto been, perhaps, the most formidable

M.P., M.R.I.A., one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of Monaghan, author of the excellent work, on the history of his patrimony, entitled "Some Account of the Territory or Dominion of Farney, in the Province and Earldom of Ulster," 4to, 1845. He has also published, in the present year, a volume of "Original Letters, illustrative of the State of the Church of Ireland during the time of Edward VI.," from the MS. at Lambeth. William E. Hudson, M.R.I.A., member of the Councils of our Archæological and Celtic Societies, and author of the critical analysis of the orthography of the early Irish scribes, appended to the "Book of Rights." This gentleman's munificence to the Celtic Society (whose publications we noticed in No. II. of the IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW), is fully acknowledged in the last annual Report of that body. Samuel Ferguson, M.R.I.A., author of some valuable papers among the Academy's "Transactions," and of many admirable Irish ballads and historical essays, which we hope to see published in a collected form. Frederick W. Burton, our most eminent Dublin artist, and member of the "Committee of Antiquities." A classical group from his pencil, representing Archbishop Ussher, Luke Wadding, and Roderick O'Flaherty, forms the illustrated title-page of the valuable volumes published by the Celtic Society, and is the largest and most exquisite woodcut ever executed in Ireland by a native engraver. Joseph H. Smith, M.R.I.A., who has published several essays on Irish historical subjects, among the Proceedings of the Academy, and is at present engaged in editing, from the University Manuscripts, the interesting account of the Progresses of the Lords Lieutenant of Ireland. Edward Clibborn, Esq., Curator of the Academy's Museum, which owes many of its principal ornaments to his exertions. Before his connection with the Institution its most valuable antiquities and manuscripts were huddled together in an obscure and inaccessible repository; they are now, owing to his assiduity, classed and arranged in a style not to be excelled by any European Collection.

In closing our notice of this "*dotta compagna*," whose names will not be forgotten by the future historian of the revival of Irish learning, we feel bound to state, that their efforts have been ever seconded by Messrs. Hodges and Smith, Booksellers to the University. A glance at the catalogue of their publications will show how much they have done for the promotion of national literature. The valuable series of Irish manuscripts brought together by them, some years ago, and still known as "Hodges and Smith's Collection," is now one of the chief glories of the Academy's library.

weapon in the armoury of the political demagogue. The publication of our true annals will totally deprive the mob-orator and the factious journalist of their strongest hold on the passions of an irascible and imaginative race, easily excited by exaggerated and one-sided representations of former events. Irishmen will learn, from their own history, that they have been too much the victims of misguiding speculators and trading politicians; and they will find that education and industry are the only true and lasting sources of national prosperity and greatness. The foundation of the Irish Archæological Society marks an era in our literature. From the period of its formation, we can distinctly trace the onward progress which has been made in the cultivation of national historical research; and the many valuable works which have, since that time, issued from the Dublin press, fully attest the beneficial effects of the Society's influence. An ample field still lies before our Archæologists; numbers of the most important Celtic manuscripts still remain unpublished;\*

\* We trust that the Council of the Society will see the necessity of undertaking the publication of the larger and more comprehensive manuscript works, which serve to illustrate various historical eras. Of these, one of the most important is the "*Coghadh Gaoidheal le Gallaibh*," or "Wars of the Irish with the Danes," a complete copy of which has been lately discovered in the Bibliothèque des Ducs de Burgogne, at Brussels. This document contains ample information on the great struggle which terminated so gloriously for Ireland; and the means exist of illustrating it minutely, from contemporary Irish productions. We understand that the Danish government have signified their desire to contribute to the expense of the publication of this important work. A late report of the Society of Northern Antiquarians, at Copenhagen, demonstrates the interest with which Mr. Worsaae's communications relative to the old Irish manuscript accounts of the wars of the Danes in our country, were received. Mr. Curry's investigations prove that this History of the Danish Wars was written at a comparatively short period after the battle of Clontarf, which is further attested by a fragmentary document preserved in the "Book of Leinster," a manuscript of the twelfth century, compiled by the tutor of Dermot Mac Murchad, and containing a pathetic note, written on the very day of that prince's expulsion from Ireland—an event which was attended with such important consequences. Recent researches among our ancient Irish manuscripts demonstrate that the accounts hitherto received of the circumstances which led to the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland are totally false and inaccurate. The "*Borama*," or History of the "Boromean Tribute," is a work of great value in illustrating the earlier portion of our annals, and treats of a subject on which we possess no published information. The History of the *Fir Bolgs*, or early Belgic colonies in Ireland, also relates to an era on which we have as yet but imperfect accounts. The hagiographical treatises, and lives of the native Irish Saints, also well deserve publication, as no works contain more curious and valuable accounts of the manners and customs of the early inhabitants of Ireland. It must be apparent, that the

and let us trust that the more enlightened of our countrymen will, following the example set by neighbouring nations, no longer allow the ancient records of the piety and learning of their ancestors to lie on the shelves of our collections, unknown and unappreciated, save by a few of the master-minds of our own and foreign lands. "Science and literature," says an eminent living scholar,\* "have many departments, not one of which is undeserving of our regard, so long as it is cultivated in a liberal and philosophic spirit; but the history of our own country, and of its language, has especial claims on our consideration, unless we choose to renounce the name of Irishmen. It is no morbid sentiment which leads us to turn, with a longing and affectionate interest, to the ancient history and literature of our own country. It is no fond national conceit, which inspires us with the desire to gather and to preserve those of its scattered records, which have escaped the tooth of time, the ravages of barbarism, and the persecuting rigor of a miscalculating policy. It is, indeed, wise in us to soar as high as we may, seeking a wide and clear view of the entire horizon of human knowledge and science; but, even to those elevated regions let us carry with us a loving remembrance of the spot of earth from whence we took our flight, of our birth-place, and the home, which is the sanctuary of the purest and strongest of our earthly affections."

documents in the ancient Irish language, styled by the learned Pictet, "les curieux débris de la primitive Europe," are those which should be first printed; and we have endeavoured to demonstrate the necessity of undertaking their publication during the lifetime of the Hiberno-Celtic scholars, before referred to. A Committee, we may add, has been appointed by Parliament to examine and report relative to the publication, by the Imperial Government, of the *Brehon Laws*, noticed at page 9.

\* Rev. Charles Graves, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Mathematics in the University of Dublin. Address delivered in the Royal Irish Academy, on the completion of the subscription for the purchase of the Betham Manuscripts, 22nd April, 1851.

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